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A GRAMMAR OF GREEK ART

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A GRAMMAR OF GREEK ART

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BY

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PREFACE

THE purpose and character of this little book may perhaps be best explained by a brief history of its genesis.

It is an urgent problem how best an elementary study of Greek art may be made a part of general classical culture and put on terms with the study of Greek and Roman literature and history. In order to help toward a solution of this problem, I published two years ago a pamphlet on *Classical Archaeology in Schools*,[1] which has been read and considered by many teachers in England and America. It has, however, been pointed out to me that this essay, while it sets forth the practical possibilities of using archaeological aids in classical teaching, does not explain sufficiently what are the main principles of Greek art and what are its relations to literature. This defect I have tried to remedy in the present work, which is meant principally for men of classical training, and particularly for classical teachers in schools. It is scarcely adapted to the capacities of ordinary schoolboys. I had originally intended to incorporate with it the essay of which I have spoken; but it was decided to keep that apart, in such a form that the list of apparatus could be at any time brought up to date.

Unquestionably the growing use of the lantern in colleges and schools and the enormous production of photographic

[1] Published by the University Press, Oxford, with an appendix containing lists of archaeological books and apparatus. Price, a shilling.

slides to illustrate every part of ancient geography, topography, and archaeology have entirely altered in recent years the whole conditions of the study of archaeology, especially in its elementary form. It is now possible, at a trifling cost, to bring vividly before the eyes and the minds of students everything that remains of ancient Greece and Rome. But a great difficulty still remains to be met. This difficulty lies in understanding what these things mean, what they teach us, and how they may help us in preserving through the present to future generations something of the treasures of beauty, healthiness, and wisdom which have been bequeathed to us by the great nations of antiquity.

In order that we may understand what we see, certain principles of history, of art, of psychology, have to become familiar to us. What the more important of these principles are I have tried to set forth in these pages. The attempt is a somewhat novel one, though some archaeologists, in particular Professors Lange, Löwy, and Robert, have formed paths which may be followed. Doubtless others before long will proceed further on these paths.

I should be sorry if it were for a moment supposed that any attempt was made in a little book like this to enable teachers who have not themselves had any practice or training in the study of Greek art to give such training to pupils. Archaeology, like every other branch of knowledge, must be laboriously and methodically studied before it can be taught to any purpose. And it can no more be learned from the mere perusal of books than can geology or natural history. Eye and mind alike have to submit to discipline. If my chapters tend to produce in classical teachers the semblance of archaeological knowledge without its substance, they will

do no good. But this difficulty attaches to all works of the kind. I am in hopes that it may be possible at all events to persuade some of those responsible for classical teaching in our schools to make such arrangements that boys may have a chance of hearing something about ancient art from competent instructors. And I am in hopes that a general interest in the subject may be more widely spread among those who have no intention of becoming specialists or instructors. Whether these hopes are doomed to disappointment, time must show. But it is certain that there has arisen in some quarters a disposition to welcome experiments in this direction. Such an experiment is before the reader.

The illustrations in the text are of a varied character. Each of them was chosen, not for its own sake, but to illustrate some *grammatical* point in archaeology. I have had to borrow from many sources. In most cases I have asked a permission, which has been readily granted; if in some instances I have omitted making application for permission, I hope that this may be pardoned, in view of the full references to sources given in every case.

My brother, Professor Ernest Gardner, has been good enough to read my proofs.

PERCY GARDNER.

OXFORD,
January, 1905.

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A GRAMMAR OF GREEK ART

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY: GENERAL CHARACTER OF GREEK ART

JUST as the poetry and prose of the Greeks is expressed in a particular language, the words and the grammar of which must be studied by those who would understand the literature, so works of Greek painting and sculpture also are composed in what may be called a particular artistic language.[1] The words of that language are the strokes of the brush and the chisel; but these are put together in order to embody Greek ideas in ways which are distinctive and not like those adopted by any other people; certainly unlike those of modern art. The object of the present work is to set forth, as simply and directly as possible, what these ways are; to define, in fact, the grammar of Greek art, and so render more intelligible the works of painting and sculpture which have come down to us from Hellenic antiquity.

Although the problem before us is one which can only be solved by a close and long-continued examination of the monuments of Greek art, yet it is at bottom psychological. We have to determine the laws according to which the mind, the taste, the hand of the artist, worked. We are speaking of a generalized or ideal process. It will not, of course, be supposed that a sculptor or painter, before he set about his work, consciously or deliberately thought out the lines on which he

[1] Welcker calls it a Zeichensprache, *Alte Denkmäler*, III., p. xii.

should proceed. He went by the traditions of the craft, the customs of a school. But his unconscious process can be brought out in regular and methodical form; and this is what I propose to do. In precisely the same way those who have never learned grammar may speak their own language grammatically enough. Unconsciously they follow laws of usage which have been laid down by the practice of generations. The grammarian can discover and set forth those laws, the statement of which, though less necessary to those who speak their mother tongue, is quite indispensable to those who have to learn the language as one foreign to them.

To the accidence of a language we may compare the simple laws of relation to material, of relation to space, of balance and proportion, which are unconsciously observed by the Greek artists. To the syntax of a language we may compare the relation of scene to scene, of picture to myth and to literature, of sculpture and coin to history. And art as a whole we may place beside the poetry and philosophy of Greece as a parallel manifestation of the genius of the race, in some directions an even clearer and more illuminating manifestation.

We start from the purpose of the Greek artist to produce a statue, or to paint a scene of Greek mythology. Whence this purpose came, we cannot always see. It may have come, at the lowest, from a commercial demand, or from desire to exercise talent, or from a wish to honour the gods. This purpose works from within outward, and meets with controlling conditions, according to which its outward working is directed, conditions partly belonging to the materials employed, partly to the artistic customs and traditions of the age, partly to the personality of the artist himself, and partly to the city or the race to which he belongs.

In its higher branches grammar touches psychology, and I shall not altogether avoid the psychology and the philosophy of

art. Certainly I do not wish to limit myself to such formal and superficial rules as make up the bulk of our grammars. In fact, some parts of the present work may be said to lie between a psychology and a grammar. The reason of this is not far to seek; and I must briefly set it forth.

If the creations of the Greek painter and sculptor had come down to us in full abundance and in their original beauty, the philosophy and the grammar of the subject would have lain apart, the first being primarily illustrated from those great works of art which fully embody the Greek character, the second from simple and commonplace efforts of the artists. But what we possess is but a remnant of the ancient splendour. In the case of architecture and sculpture, enough remains to show us what the Greeks could do: in the case of painting we have only work of a comparatively poor or hasty character. It is therefore natural in dealing with sculpture to proceed in a more philosophical way, and in dealing with painting, to proceed on the humbler lines of grammar. Perhaps by following this course I have somewhat injured the unity of this work; but it does not appear that much would have been gained if I had divided it in two. The reader must always remember that in criticising sculpture we are at a higher level than in criticising vase-painting, and he must not expect the impossible.

The study of an evolution among surrounding and limiting conditions is the complement, and in many ways the opposite, to that search for origins which in our Darwinian age attracts so much intelligence. Numberless investigators are now occupied in tracing all the ways of civilization to their origins, or at least to the earliest form of them which can be discovered. This search is, of course, of the greatest value, quite essential to all scientific history, and throwing rays of light over some

of the darkest fields. Without reaching the origin of a custom in art, in religion, in institutions, we can never be sure that we have rightly apprehended it. But at the same time it is necessary to guard oneself against a prevalent delusion, the fancy that when the origin of any phase of human life is discovered, that phase is explained and understood. It is a great thing to reach the railway station from which one sets out on a journey, but starting from that station one may go many ways and travel with various purposes. What is really most important and interesting in the civilization of a race is not the foundations, which are probably very much like those whence other races make their start, but what the race adds of its own, the way in which the national ideas are embodied. What is most interesting in the English character is that in which we differ from other peoples. That which is really important in Jewish or in Greek religion is not the mere myth which belongs to all peoples at a certain stage of civilization, nor the primitive beliefs in ghosts and agricultural superstitions, but what the Jews and the Greeks respectively add to the common stock of religion, as they emerge into a higher civilization.

The case is similar in regard to Greek art. Of late years there has been carried on an unwearied search into primitive art — that of the Mycenaean and Minoan ages — and no one should undervalue a quest which has revealed to us so much in regard to the habits, the religion, the architecture, and the painting of the early peoples of the Mediterranean area. But such investigations do not greatly increase our knowledge of Greek art. They suggest that the Greeks may have borrowed certain rudiments from races which preceded them in the lands which were later to be theirs; but they do not throw much light on the process by which, out of simple and rude beginnings, the Greek spirit built up a magnificent fabric of art which can never cease

to raise and instruct mankind. For the architecture, the sculpture, and the painting which have been found in the palace of Cnossus and in the graves of Mycenae, though astonishingly developed, and sometimes even modern in appearance, are entirely wanting in the characteristics of Greek work. Whether the Mycenaeans were of the same race as the later Achaeans or not, they certainly completely differed from them in all that belongs to art. The Greeks are in many things our spiritual ancestors, the Mycenaeans scarcely lie in the direct line of our spiritual ancestry. Compare the parallel case of literature. The investigation of the forms of letters in the earliest alphabets has its value, and the primitive inscriptions cut in terra-cotta and on stone by the early peoples of Asia Minor and the Aegean are not without importance; but the interest of such things pales beside that of the great literature which has inspired so much of modern history and poetry and philosophy. Greek art has not, in northern Europe, had the same vogue as Greek literature; yet at some periods, and in some lines of civilization, it has been of untold value, throwing into the shade mere questions of origin.

It is unnecessary that I should try to emphasize the value of Greek literature. The value of Greek art is less generally recognized. Of course to us in England ancient literature must always be of far greater interest and value than ancient art, for the simple reason that we are a literary nation, but not an artistic nation. Yet we have our artists, and are not unaffected by the growing importance of art in the modern world. It is because of our neglect and misunderstanding of ancient art, among other causes, that our artists are, as a rule, so poorly trained, and have to go to Paris and Rome to learn their business. General education has also suffered from the same cause. We have been one-sided. Every one who has studied both the literature and the art of Greece

must have discovered that the principles of both are exactly alike, that the Greek drama and the Greek temple, for example, are constructed on parallel lines, and equally embody the aesthetic ideas of the race. These general remarks will, it is hoped, receive constant enforcement and illustration in the course of the following pages.

It is of course possible to schematize too much, to lay down in too dogmatic a fashion in what way the Greek spirit acts under certain conditions. Those conditions vary from period to period and from school to school. It is only a full and careful consecutive study of the history of ancient art which can give one the right to generalize. But generalization, though difficult, is possible; and the student who is bewildered with the number of the schools and artists in Greece; who, after toiling for months and years at certain classes of statues or vases, loses sight of the relation of those classes to the main stem of Greek life, may find it useful and profitable to turn from the material side of ancient monuments to their formal side, to look on them not merely as productions of a certain time and place, made in a certain material, but as a visible embodiment of mental processes, as the result of the outward working of the Greek spirit on the world around.

It is easy to illustrate by means of examples the mistakes into which a misunderstanding of the underlying laws or conditions of Greek art may mislead a modern observer. Some critics have complained of Homer because his heroes are made to pause in the midst of the battle turmoil to discuss their respective ancestry and achievements. Others discuss the action of such dramas as the *Agamemnon* or the *Alcestis*, without taking into account the strict conditions of the Greek stage, with its masks and buskins and trailing robes, contrived specially to remove the scenes portrayed from likeness to the scenes of daily life. Others suppose the speeches by means of

which Thucydides explains the relations of the Greek states to one another to have been actually uttered by the statesmen into whose mouths he puts them. In the same way some writers have gravely maintained that what is represented in the frieze of the Parthenon is not the Panathenaic procession, certain important elements of which appear to be wanting, but a dress rehearsal for that procession. In each case the root of the mistake is the same, the direct comparison of a work of art with nature, and its condemnation because it conforms to a subjective rather than an objective law; in fact, ignorance of the grammar of the language of ancient art. To understand a work of art we must consider not merely what in fact it represents, but also the conventions of the artist, as determined by his period, his school, his range of ideas. We must look at it not only in relation to nature, but also in relation to the human spirit, and the laws according to which in various countries that spirit works in the world of art.

Taine begins his little work on the philosophy of Greek art by sketching the nature of the Greek lands and people, detailing the external conditions among which their art grew up. Strictly speaking he is quite right. Climate and geographic facts and the physical construction of the race are important factors in the rise of art. I shall not, however, follow Taine's example, partly because travel has made these facts familiar to most educated men, partly because an account of physical Greece may be found in many works, for instance, in Curtius' *History of Greece*.[1] I shall therefore pass on to say a word as to the aesthetic and intellectual qualities of the people.

[1] Also, on a smaller scale, in the first chapter of Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Greek Antiquities*.

Greek art, like Greek poetry and philosophy and geometry, seems constructed with extreme simplicity, when compared with the more complicated productions of modern Europe: herein lies its main attractiveness, and its educational value. It exhibits the working of a race the civilization of which was very simple and harmonious, of a race gifted by nature with the finest aesthetic and intellectual qualities, so that to the end of time the Greeks will stand out against the background of ancient history as a natural aristocracy, and always furnish us with models which in their own way, and within the limits which they acknowledged, will be unsurpassed. Modern life is more ambitious and more complicated: we have learned the ways of progress as the Greeks never learned them, so that to us in many respects they seem to be like children. But each man as he grows up passes through the various stages of culture which lie behind us; and to a certain stage in growth and education the teaching of Greece is of unequalled value. And besides, the wonderful natural endowments of the Hellenic race were such that the most cultivated of modern minds, a Goethe, a Matthew Arnold, a Sainte-Beuve, will to the end find in Greek literature and art a freshness, simplicity, and charm which may be sought in vain elsewhere.

Matthew Arnold, with his usual insight, has observed that it is in sense and in intellect that the Greek is supreme. The eyes and ears of the ordinary Greek man may not have been so acute in observing minute or distant detail as the senses of the savage, whose whole living depends upon their efficiency. But in delicacy of aesthetic perception, of the relations of parts to a whole, of the value of a curve, of the suitability of a musical note, they excelled beyond compare. And in sheer intelligence, in logical power, and a perception of the relation of means to ends, the Greeks are found to be supreme. It was mainly through clearness and taste that literature, philosophy,

sculpture, painting, rose among them not merely to a level quite beyond comparison with that of ancient peoples, but to a height which has in some ways scarcely been reached by the most gifted nations of modern times.

I find it necessary, to my great regret, to confine my attention, in this book, to the art of autonomous Greece, between the rise of Hellenic civilization and the days of Alexander the Great. At this last point the history of Greece divides into two. Until the time of Alexander she was occupied in forming herself; afterwards her matured powers were devoted to the education of the world, the eastern world and the western. The latter half of this wonderful history is perhaps not less interesting and important than the earlier. But it is more complicated; and we are unable to use for its study such admirable guides as the histories of Herodotus and Thucydides. In the matter of art, the regular course of evolution is in this latter period crossed by many fresh tendencies, and divided into a multitude of streams. A work on the art of the later age of Greece, the age of Hellenism, is greatly needed. But even if the later history of art were as clearly marked out as the earlier, it would be impossible within the limits of the present work satisfactorily to include an account of it. We can only hope to discover the principles and tendencies of Greek art in its various branches, by taking it up while it is comparatively free from foreign admixture, and unadapted to the needs of the non-Greek races who became half Hellenized during the three centuries which passed between the time of Alexander and the beginning of the Christian era.

One cannot too strongly emphasize the fact that Greek art was from first to last ideal. Some writers speak of the realism of Lysippus or of the Pergamene sculptors, or even of the natur-

alism or some works of the fifth century. The reader is apt to suppose that in some of the Greek schools there prevailed a naturalism not unlike that which we find in some modern schools. This is quite a false view. I must explain in what sense the ideality of Greek art must be taken.

It is not possible in painting to reproduce with literal precision the forms of nature, since man has two eyes and the canvas is flat, since colour can never fully give the effect of light, and so forth. In sculpture it is more possible closely to follow nature, though even in the most naturalistic portraits hair and beard and eyes have to be rendered without literalness. But sculpture which merely closely follows ordinary types of nature is so profoundly uninteresting that it has no valid reason for existing. A precise copy in bronze of an ordinary ass would be on the same level as a stuffed ass.

It is clearly proved by modern psychology how crude is the notion of "the man in the street" that what an artist has to do is to look at a person, an animal, a scene, and then copy it on his canvas. It is certain, as I shall show more at length in a future chapter, that art originates not in the direct copying of nature, but in a mental reconstruction, which has a basis of observation. This reconstruction is, it is true, ordinarily quite unconscious, but it occurs nevertheless. And the human and subjective element which intervenes at the beginning of art accompanies every phase of it to the end. Sometimes this subjective element is individual. Thus there has always been in art an element which we may term impressionism. Conscious impressionism is modern; unconscious is very old.

I must not, however, allow myself to be led by the word *impressionism* into the deep places of art criticism. I will only say that I cannot regard it as fair to appropriate the word to a special school of modern painters, who have paid particular attention to the effects of light. Dr. Wickhoff has main-

tained,[1] and I think with justice, that in the Roman art of the Early Empire there is a good deal of impressionism. In Greek art, as is natural from its thoughtful and consistent character, there is less. I shall, however, confine myself to speaking of the two great tendencies which dominate the history of art until recent times, naturalism and idealism, the objective and the subjective spirit.

Naturalism or realism is an attempt to mimic the details of visible things. This is an attempt which lies very much in the way of a modern artist. Of the anatomist he learns the forms, not of the outward appearance of man, but of the inner structure underlying that appearance. From photography he learns the precise lines of natural objects, and carries them with him into his studio. Instantaneous photography reveals the intimate ways of motion so swift that observation cannot follow it. So he is tempted to spend his life in struggling to learn more and more of the details of nature, in order that he may embody them in his art. Realism in art has in many schools been carried to a great length. Some careful study of natural fact is necessary as a basis for any great school of art. The Assyrians carefully studied the lion and the wild horse, the Greeks made most exact study of the human body in all motions and poses, though without at first giving attention to anatomy. The Japanese observe plant life, and some forms of animal life, with astonishing minuteness and accuracy. The artists of the early Renascence were also minute in their observation of plants, like the Preraphaelites of the last century. But realism cannot be carried beyond a certain point, because it then ceases to produce anything of interest, and a too precise study of fact brings with it dangers of its own. The anatomist is apt to dull his sense of beauty and deformity.

[1] *Roman Art*, translated by Mrs. Strong. I do not, of course, accept Dr. Wickhoff's views as to Greek art, of which he is altogether unappreciative.

If an artist copies the motion of his horses from Muybridge's instantaneous photographs, he only produces attitudes which in nature the eye never sees.

Now what is most interesting to man is man himself. What is accurate to nature leaves the mind unimpressed and the heart cold, unless there shine through it something which is in relation to human life and activity. Hence there is also a tendency in modern days to drift towards the other extreme, to produce something pleasing or amusing without any real authority in the world of fact. There seems no limit to the variety of efforts made by artists to interpret visible things in a way of their own, or to frankly set at naught the testimony of the senses. Every man, so to speak, fights for his own hand, often very effectively, but often also to a result which is contrary to sense and sanity.

The simplicity and regularity of Greek art saved it from both of these extremes. The Greek artist was not tempted into eccentricity and sensational attempts, because his public would not have tolerated such attempts. And on the other hand, naturalism, in the sense of a complete subordination to the visible, was never a tendency of Greek art. It is true that Greek men had a very keen sense of sight. And it is true that some later statues, such as the fighter of Agasias in the Louvre, show a minute and accurate study of the anatomy and actions of the human body. But such works belong to the decline of sculpture; and moreover this study of the actual does not pass beyond man to his surroundings, for it was of the essence of the Greek genius to think far more of man than of non-human objects. Socrates indelibly imprinted this character upon Greek philosophy; it deeply marks the poetry of Homer, the history of Herodotus, even the pastoral poetry of Theocritus. And it marks Greek art from first to last; it is conspicuous even in the Hellenistic days, when man's outlook upon nature grew much wider.

Idealism starts from the human mind as realism starts from the fact of nature. As the danger of realism is that it loses interest, so the danger of idealism is convention. For it is possible to accept the conventions of art as they exist, and merely to work on that basis in the portrayal of nature; and the result is of course flat and unprogressive. Such, within limits, is the art of Babylon and of Egypt.

But there is a higher idealism, which tries to pass beyond the outward appearances of men and of things to their inner nature. Nature, from our human point of view, seems seldom wholly to succeed. The artist who idealizes tries, so to speak, to see her purpose, to surprise her secret, and to carry it out more perfectly than she has carried it out herself. In Platonic language he may be said to contemplate the divine ideas, which are but partially embodied in visible things, and to portray them in his work. When this is done in a very objective way, so that the artist almost seems to lose himself in nature, his art might perhaps be called in a higher sense naturalist. When the element of human purpose and emotion is very conspicuous in his work, he might be called a humanist in art. In either case, since he looks behind phenomena to thought and purpose, he must be called an idealist.

I think there is a certain prejudice in many modern minds against ideal art. It is supposed to be stiff, conservative, unreal. In literature the romantic movement may in one sense be considered as a return from the ideal to the actual. The English Preraphaelite art of half a century ago was a laborious attempt to return to nature from the conventions with which the art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had overlaid painting. And there is certainly some foundation for the feeling, since ideal art tends to become fixed in convention as impressionist art tends to chaos and naturalist art to ugliness. But so long as man is man, and the world about us must be appre-

hended by human senses and touched with human passions, so long there must be a personal element, besides an element belonging to the school or the race, in all art. In fact the most blankly realist art which fails to perish through want of human interest has some ideal element in it. It has been well pointed out that not only does each generation interpret for itself nature and humanity in a somewhat different manner, but also copies made in different periods and schools of actually the same work of art vary greatly. If we trace a well-known cathedral spire in a variety of drawings, we shall find that even so simple a work as a spire can be variously interpreted. And every archaeologist knows that forgeries or imitations of ancient statues or coins greatly vary in character and type; the imitations of the Renascence are very different from those of the seventeenth century, and those of modern days again differ.

The idealism of Greece differed from that of modern times partly because its range of ideas was far narrower and its methods more simple, partly because it was so frankly humanist. But there is also another difference which is striking. Idealism in Greece is not individual, but social; it belongs to the nation, the city, or the school, rather than to this or that artist.

It is, in fact, impossible for any artist to escape the results of his training and his personality. However fully resolved he may be to represent precisely what he sees, yet he has to see with eyes which accept knowingly or unconsciously a number of conventions and customs which are the results of the history of art in the past, and which condition the art of the present.

Yet an artist may take a line of individualism. He may be content with the endeavour to express *himself* on canvas or in bronze, to fully embody his own impressions and his own way of regarding things. In such a case he cannot wholly cut himself off from the stream of artistic activity,

but he may drift on one side toward individual genius, on the other toward a petty egotism. In any case he will tend toward idiosyncrasy and artistic chaos. With such phenomena we are quite familiar in modern days. But they are almost wholly absent from Greek art. The proof is that in judging of Greek statues it is incomparably easier to assign to them a date and a school than to attribute them to an individual sculptor.

Greek art is thus not merely ideal, but generically ideal. It not only seeks beauty, but it is engaged in a common search for beauty, and any form of beauty recognized by an artist becomes at once a part of the common stock. Naturally, on similar principles, in portraying individuals it seeks below the surface of the person for what is generic of the race, what is permanent rather than temporary, what is essential rather than accidental. Thus it is in early times more occupied with the production of types than of portraits; and even the portraits of later Greek art have in them much of the type.

Ideals may be supplied to art by a small school or society, or by a race and country. Or they may come from a deeper source still, human nature, or the subconscious life which lies at the roots of human nature. If the ideals are narrow and local, the art works only for a clique or coterie. If they are broad and thoroughly human, the art works for a nation, or for the whole human race.

I have not spoken of a feature in art of which modern critics make much, that it should be expressive and significant, laying emphasis on those features of the object portrayed which are really characteristic, and subordinating others — the way of working which, in its lower form, tends to caricature. This characteristic element is to be found more prominently in the art of the Hellenistic age, and particularly in the magnificent series of sculptured portraits which later Greece has

bequeathed to us. But it must be confessed that in expressiveness Greek art of the earlier age does not stand very high, any more than it does in the art of carrying the mind of the beholder beyond the visible to the invisible and spiritual. Certain admirable qualities it has in the highest degree; but there are qualities for which we must go elsewhere.

The Greeks, by the universal confession of artists and students of art, bore a message not only to their own time and country, but to all men in all ages. Their art was classical, that is, conformed to what is permanent and above criticism in human life. It is for this reason that it must hold an important place in education, the main object of which is, or should be, to enable the learner to discern between good and evil. But Greek art has definite and not wide limits: we must consider it as concerned only with *human* form. Some animals which are closely connected with man, such as the horse and the bull, it also idealized; but external nature did not appeal to the Greeks as it does to us. It is true that we find in the decoration of their temples, their sarcophagi, and their vases, some very beautiful architectural forms which are ultimately based upon the forms of plants, developed out of the lotus and the acanthus. But these are very strongly stylized and adapted, and can scarcely be said to show an appreciative study of the plants; rather, they show a keen sense of decorative beauty, though the variety of them is not great.

Thus all ages must owe a debt to Greece for the simple beauty, the sanity, the healthfulness of the ideal element which she introduced into art, making it for the first time in history a true exponent of the human spirit.

CHAPTER II

ANCIENT CRITICS ON ART

I PROPOSE next to inquire what account of art is given by the great Greek writers themselves. They have left us various statements on the subject, and although compared with the modern intellect that of the Greeks was uncritical, yet it cannot be indifferent to us to know what such masters of thought as Plato and Aristotle and their followers thought of the sculptors and painters who in their time were filling the temples and stoas of Greece with works of supreme excellence. Of course the most important ancient work for our purpose is the *Poetics* of Aristotle[1]; and speaking generally, with the view taken by Aristotle of the nature of fine art accords that set forth in the present work.

It is natural that in the active and stirring ethical life of Socrates there was not very much time for thought about art. But Socrates in his youth had worked as a sculptor with his father, Sophroniscus, and his strong and clear intelligence pierced the surface in this, as in other matters. We have in the *Memorabilia*[2] an account of two visits made by Socrates to the painter Parrhasius and to the sculptor Cliton; and some of his observations on these occasions are well worthy of considera-

[1] Professor Butcher's volume, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, is indispensable.

[2] III., ch. 10.

tion. In speaking to Parrhasius, Socrates, according to Xenophon, insists upon the necessity of combining the beauties of various persons in order to produce an ideal type, since perfection of form is not found in a single individual. In a later chapter (VII) we shall see that it was indeed thus that Greek art proceeded. Socrates also dwells on the fact that what is beautiful and charming is a more suitable subject for art than what is ugly and displeasing; and here again he touches what was in Greece one of the most fundamental rules of the painter's art. But in speaking to the sculptor Cliton, Socrates gives a hint which modern archaeologists would have done well to take. "I perceive and I know, Cliton," he says, "that you differentiate[1] in your art runners, wrestlers, boxers, and pancratiasts." Modern writers have very often been content to dub a Greek statue "an athlete," and to assign it to this or that school; they have thought of style to the exclusion of subject. But it is evident that athletes must have had, as Socrates observes, a physique corresponding to the kind of exercise in which they excelled; and we have yet to examine the statues of ancient athletes with a view to dividing them into classes on this basis.

Plato is far inferior to his master in knowledge and appreciation of art. Like most strongly spiritual philosophers, he had little sympathy with the mimetic arts. In the *Republic* he observes that these arts were occupied not with the reproduction of what were in his opinion the realities, the archetypal forms of things, but only with their copies in the world of sensible experience, and so ended only in copying the copy, representing things as they seemed, producing a mimicry of a phantasm. One is accustomed to this attitude of mind in great philosophers. But in Plato it is especially to be regretted, because it blinded him to the truth that Greek art is never con-

[1] ἀλλοίους ποιεῖς. This passage has been made trivial by the adoption of the reading καλοὶ οὓς ποιεῖς.

tent with the mere appearance, but is ever working back to the idea, is, in fact, as idealistic as the Platonic philosophy itself. In fact, idealism in art can best be justified by an application of the language of the philosophy of Plato. It is based on the desire to realize those divine ideas which have since the time of Plato been spoken of in many schools of philosophy.

In some of his works, such as the *Symposium*, Plato speaks of art in a somewhat different tone. So fine a stylist could not be wholly indifferent to poetry; and in some places Plato speaks of the poet as an inspired madman. But he scarcely extends this semi-toleration from poetry to the plastic arts. In the *Laws*,[1] the Athenian stranger, evidently with Plato's approbation, speaks admiringly of the art of Egypt because it is stationary and fixed. That Plato should prefer the mummied art of Egypt to the marvellous works of his own great contemporaries in Greece is a fact which stimulates reflection. After this, the less said of him as an art critic the better. With Plato began the feud between the moralist and the artist which is likely to be eternal.

Aristotle was far broader and more universal in his sympathies than his predecessor. Looking on all things with clear and steadfast eyes, he may be said to have ranged in pigeonholes the results of Greek thinking up to his time. His *Poetics* is an attempt to frame a theory or philosophy of poetry and fine art. But he does not seem to have known much about painting and sculpture; he takes poetry in general, the epic and the drama of the Attic tragedians in particular, as the type of art. No doubt most moderns would agree with him that poetry is the highest and noblest of the arts. But that fact does not make it fairly typical of the rest; in fact, it

[1] p. 657.

differs in so many and so striking ways from plastic art that only the most general propositions can be true of both. The Greek drama, it is true, was a very clearly defined form of poetry, a kind which was regulated by most exact laws, and was written not to be read, but only to be exhibited on the stage to the eyes and ears of an audience, much in the fashion of a relief. The Greek drama was thus far nearer to plastic art than is the modern drama. It is a pity that modern writers have been led by the authority of Aristotle to take the drama as the typical art, as they have been in some respects misled by this selection.

On the whole, Aristotle's observations on sculpture and painting are slight and general. But his view is in the main the true one, and some of the distinctions which he draws are very helpful to us in the discussion of the principles of Greek mimetic art.

To begin with, though Aristotle regards sculpture and painting as mimetic, imitative arts, he does not fall into Plato's mistake of therefore despising them. For he realizes that when they imitate nature, what they imitate is not mere outward appearances, but the ideal which those appearances partly conceal and partly reveal. "Nature in Aristotle," writes Mr. Butcher, "is not the outward world of created things; it is the creative force, the productive principle, of the Universe." For example, he observes of portrait painters[1] that "they, while reproducing the distinctive form of the original, make a likeness which is true to life and yet more beautiful." This reminds us of Denneker's saying in regard to the figures in the Parthenon Pediments, "they are as if modelled on nature, yet I have never had the good fortune to see such nature."

We may thus claim Aristotle as setting forth the true view of Greek art. Professor Butcher observes[2] that to him "a work

[1] *Poetics*, XV., 8. Butcher's translation.

[2] *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, pp. 153, 154.

of art is an idealized representation of human life — of character, emotion, action — under forms manifest to sense." "Imitation, so understood, is a creative act. It is the expression of the concrete thing under an image which answers to its true idea. To seize the universal, and to reproduce it in simple and sensuous form, is not to reflect a reality already familiar through sense perceptions; rather it is a rivalry of nature, a completion of her unfulfilled purposes, a correction of her failures."

Aristotle says that "the objects of imitation are men in a state of activity;"[1] but this is an exaggeration, unless mere existence be regarded as an activity: indeed, repose, whether momentary or lengthened, is a favourite motive of Greek art. And early Greek art, though it loves action, does not love strained or violent action. Aristotle also observes, in the same passage, that painters depict men as either better or worse than they are, or on their actual level. This of course as it stands is a truism; but caricature is almost unknown in Greek art. Even the commonplace in Greek hands ceases to be trivial, and almost always men are depicted as better than they are.

It is a saying found in Athenaeus[2] that early sculpture is a record or relic of dancing (ὄρχησις). This seems to us a paradox, since Greek statues are usually in simple and unstrained attitudes. In order to understand it, we must consider that the *dancing* of the Greeks was largely made up of significant poses and postures; it included not only violent motions, but any which had a rhythmical character, whether of arms, body, or legs. With them any emotion could be represented in dancing, and statues which embodied those emotions might well seem like a petrifaction of dancers. Even athlètes in Greece did their

[1] *Poetics*, II., 1.
[2] *Deipnosophistae*, XIV., p. 629.

exercises to the sound of the flute, thus imparting to them what may fairly be called a musical character.

There are certain phrases and contrasts mostly found in Aristotle's *Poetics* which become a sort of stock in trade to subsequent writers, such contrasts as that between the art which ennobles and the art which traduces, between ethical and pathetic art, between harmony and rhythm, and the like. It will be worth while to briefly examine these formulae. We will begin with the contrast of symmetry and rhythm.

Symmetry (*συμμετρία*) is properly the proportion of one part of the body as measured against another. Several of the great sculptors of Greece held, as Leonardo da Vinci held later, that certain proportions are so beautiful that they should always be, within certain limits, preserved — the proportion of the height of the head or the length of the foot to the whole stature, and the length of parts of the head or the body to other parts. We know from observation with what remarkable care and minuteness the Greeks regulated the proportions of columns and other members of their temples. They had a strong tendency toward introducing simple mathematical relations, which may perhaps have been but a human rendering of the tendency in nature toward simple curves and pleasing proportions. It was quite natural that they should transfer this tendency from architecture to sculpture.

Of symmetry in the strict sense, the mathematical proportion of part to part, we have a remarkable example in the Man with a Spear, the Doryphorus, of Polycleitus. Of this work ancient writers tell us that it embodied in a work of art the views of Polycleitus as to the due proportions of the human body, on which he also wrote a treatise, as did Leonardo da Vinci, and we are fortunate enough to have extant copies of

this historic type of symmetry, the best of which is in the Museum of Naples. This happens conveniently to be two metres, six feet eight inches, in height, and it has naturally been submitted to very detailed measurements. It has been found that the length of the foot is .33 metre, or one-sixth of the height, and the height of the face .20 metre, or one-tenth of the height. M. Guillaume has carried the analysis farther. He cites[1] a passage of the great physician Galen, which runs as follows: "Chrysippus thinks that beauty resides in the proportion of the limbs, that is, in the relation of finger to finger, of the fingers together to the palm and wrist, of these parts to the lower arm, of the lower arm to the upper arm, and of the limbs to one another, as it is written in the canon of Polycleitus." Comparing with this statement the actual facts of the statue, M. Guillaume finds that the palm, that is, the breadth of the hand at the roots of the fingers, does serve as a common measure of its proportions. This palm is one-third of the length of the foot, one-sixth of the length of the lower leg, one-sixth of the length of the thigh, one-sixth of the length from navel to ear, and so forth.

This is a mere outward and superficial symmetry. But the term is afterwards used more generally to express grace of outline in repose.

The term *rhythm* is less easy to interpret. Brunn held that as symmetry was the relation of part to part when at rest, so rhythm was the correspondence of part to part when in motion. The simplest instance of rhythm in the human body is found in the fact that when in walking the right foot is advanced, the left arm moves naturally with it, and so balance is preserved. The Discobolus of Myron (Fig. 13) would be a typical example of

[1] E. Guillaume, *Études d'Art antique et moderne*, Paris, 1888. Rayet, *Monuments de l'Art antique*, No. 29. Compare Galen, *De plac. Hipp. et Plat.*, 5.

the rhythm of balance. It has, however, been pointed out[1] that in use the word has a wider meaning, being applied to clothes, a cup, letters. The application of the term *to balance and cadence* in music and poetry is familiar to us: in sculpture it is now only used by analogy. It would seem that rhythm implies movement, regular and balanced; but that movement may be summed up in a sculptured or painted figure, or it may take place in the eye and mind of the spectator as he passes from point to point in any production of nature or work of art. Sprays of a tree are rhythmical, both because they actually put out a leaf first on one side and then on the other, and because they lead on the eye in a rhythmical manner. Pediments of Greek temples are rhythmical when the eye passes from figure to figure with a certain cadence; and it is evident, as we shall see in a future chapter, that pediments and reliefs were planned with a view to this effect.

Another contrast on which Greek critics dwell is that between ethos (ἦθος) and pathos. They tell us that the great schools of art in the fifth century, the painters Polygnotus and Micon, the sculptors Pheidias and Polycleitus, appeared to later ages to be predominantly ethical; but that when we come to the artists of the fourth century, the painters Zeuxis and Apelles, the sculptors Praxiteles and Scopas, this ethical character gives way to pathos. Ethos in men is that which is permanent and essential, the underlying foundations of a man's nature as inherited by him from his ancestors, and as modified by the course of his life and action. An ethical portrait shows us a man as he lives in the world of ideas, apart from any changing appearances arising from the particular time of life at which he is portrayed, the precise state of his health, or the impulses

[1] E. A. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, I., p. 248.

which are at the moment dominant. In this permanent ethical aspect men may be good or bad, but the great art of Greece usually depicts only what is good; it looks on the better side of things, and sees rather the best that men might attain to than the worst to which they might fall. At the same time it must be allowed that the Greek physical ideal was more fleshly than could be accepted by any nation whose thought and belief had been moulded by Christianity. Greek religion and morality aimed rather at the mean than the extreme, and asceticism had no part in them.

The ethos, which is character, will evidently be differently represented in different schools. In Greece there were two main conceptions of it. The Argive and Dorian artists were, in type, athletic rather than religious or intellectual; thus the ethos represented in such works of art as the Doryphorus, and still more in some of the portraits of boy-victors by Polycleitus, is indeed thoroughly Greek, representing a disposition at one with itself and with nature, but stands far from the restless intelligence of Athens. In the Ionian school we have a somewhat different tendency. The great painter Polygnotus, of whom ancient critics speak as predominantly ethical, is known to us from the detailed descriptions of his paintings left us by the traveller Pausanias,[1] whence we can judge that they were pervaded by a delightful gentleness of sentiment and repose of treatment. In the works of Pheidias, also a great ethical sculptor, we may trace a broader and more varied rendering of character. In the Parthenon frieze we have the gentle orderliness of Polygnotus. But in the most noted works of the Master, the Zeus of Olympia, and the Athena Parthenos of Athens, we may discern a higher strain. These works embodied to the Greek mind the highest qualities of the divine

[1] Restored conjecturally by Professor Robert; repeated in Frazer's *Pausanias*, Vol. V. See ch. 9.

beings portrayed. Quintilian says that they added something to the received religion; what this means we shall consider in chapter VII.

The pathetic schools of sculpture and painting were scarcely less ideal than were the ethical — the Greek never gave up his search for the type — but yet they aimed less at what was permanent in the figures which they produced, and ventured to attempt the rendering of more transitory action and feeling. We find a preparation for the pathetic school of sculpture in the remark of Socrates to the sculptor Cliton, that the affections of the soul, τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔργα, may be indicated in sculpture. The fighting warriors of Scopas are as noble in form as the athletes of Polycleitus, but they surpass them in expressiveness; alike in face and attitude, they freely embody the expression of "the delights and the horrors of war."[1] The Hermes, the Aphrodite, and the Satyrs of Praxiteles do not embody active pathos or passion, but a gentle contemplative attitude, a pathos of repose. Later, in the age after Alexander, we have pathos of a more modern kind, free representations of strong emotion of all kinds, though even then Greek sculpture never loses its innate nobility, or sinks to a level which can be called vulgar. One may fairly say that it idealizes even vulgarity itself. For example, in the Palace of the Conservators at Rome there are two noteworthy statues of the Hellenistic age,[2] one representing an old fisherman, the other an old shepherdess. Both are ugly and wrinkled, and the folds of their skin are portrayed with wonderful fidelity to life. At first sight they seem mere transcripts from sordid actuality. Yet, on a closer study, one sees how marvellously they embody the idea of a life of hardship passed in battling with wind and storm; and

[1] Perhaps Aristotle would have regarded Scopas' warriors as belonging to the class of πράξεις, rather than that of πάθη.

[2] In Brunn's series, Pl. 393.

they are found, after all, to have an underlying idealism which one would not always find in a modern rendering of the same subjects. Their character, if one may use a modern comparison, is of the school of Dickens rather than of that of the *Police Gazette*. Dickens has also, by some critics, been called a realist; if he had been a realist, he would never have been so fascinating a writer.

I shall not pass on to consider the views of the later Greek critics of art, some of which are preserved to us by Pliny and Quintilian, or remain in their original connection, as in the writings of Lucian; for these views bear upon the works of particular artists, and can only be satisfactorily discussed when the productions of these artists are under consideration.[1] One may say generally that whereas the facts preserved for us by ancient writers on art are valuable, their opinions are not of great importance. Lucian alone strikes us as having something of the eye of a connoisseur, the power of analyzing statue or painting, and seeing its good and bad points.

[1] Mr. Stuart Jones' *Ancient Writers on Greek Sculpture* gives the most important texts; Overbeck's *Schriftquellen* and Sellers' *Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* are more complete.

CHAPTER III

ARCHITECTURE

In dealing with the principles of Greek art, it is necessary to begin with architecture, and particularly with the temple.[1] The temple, with the image of the deity which it enclosed, was a unity, including the best results of all the arts — architecture, sculpture, painting, music, poetry. An examination of its character takes us straight to the heart of Greek religion and art, and indeed of Greek civilization.

Before examining the purposes and the structural ideas of the temple, it may be well to speak briefly of the external conditions under which it was evolved.

Influence of country and race. In the construction of modern cities and of great buildings little influence of the natural features of the surrounding landscape is to be observed. In this nature has receded and man is predominant. The same thing is in a great degree true of the vast palaces and temples of Babylon and Egypt, built in great plains, and making, as it were, a world independent of them. But in Greece and Asia

[1] It is not easy to refer beginners to works on Greek architecture. There is no satisfactory work in English from the present point of view. Anderson and Spiers' *Greek and Roman Architecture* gives facts rather than principles. The great German works of Bötticher, Uhde, Puchstein, and others are for specialists only. The best books for the general student are vol. vii of Perrot and Chipiez' *L'Art dans l'Antiquité*, A. Choisy's *Histoire de l'Architecture*, vol. i, and E. Boutmy's *Philosophie de l'Architecture en Grèce*. The last is in its way admirable; full of brilliant suggestions. I am greatly indebted to it in this chapter.

Minor nature is more prominent and insistent; the whole country is made up of rugged mountains divided by narrow valleys and little plains. The works of man occupy but a small space in any Greek landscape. And the Greek himself, with wonderfully keen senses and profound appreciation of his surroundings, would be instinctively, if not consciously, averse from introducing into the landscape what would be out of harmony with its lines. Among Swiss mountains to-day one may notice the same clear adaptation of building to surroundings; the chalet almost seems a natural feature of the view. Any one who has visited a partially preserved Greek temple amid its natural surroundings, the temple at Phigaleia, those of Paestum, that of Segesta, will realize how fatal it would be to remove these buildings into a landscape of a different kind. To local influences are largely due the smallness of Greek temples, the rigid lines of their construction, their close dependence upon stone and marble as materials.

Even more clearly stamped upon all Greek buildings than the influence of place is the influence of the character of the Greek race. M. Boutmy has emphasized with great force the fact that the Greek temple could only have arisen among a race in which the senses were extremely acute and active, and the mind of a very clear and logical order. It is a triumph of the senses and the intellect, in every part inviting close examination, and in every part showing definite purpose and design. When we examine its parts in detail, we find the principles of reason dominating them all. Herein again we may contrast it with the religious buildings of the Tigris and the Nile, where so much is vague and suggestive, so much traditional and instinctive. The Greek was ever predominantly a rationalist and an observer.

But though religion in Greece did not take the same dominant and overpowering position which it took in the great

empires of the East, yet the Greek of early times was in his way thoroughly religious. But in place of a vague awe in the presence of the unseen, he introduced the tendency to vividly personify the powers of nature, to make them objective and definite by means of poetry, of art, and of music. The astonishing humanity which prevails in the Homeric Olympus is reflected in every part of the world of Greek art. As time went on the gods were moulded ever more and more after the fashion of a refined and beautified humanity, until they came too near to the human level, and men in ceasing to look up to them ceased to believe in them, and fell back upon the superstition of the pre-Hellenic ages and races, or upon the reasoned theism of the philosophers. The whole beauty and all the history of Greek art belongs to the great national movement which created an Olympus remarkable not for sublimity and awfulness but for human interest and aesthetic charm.

The temple was invented or grew up at a time when the gods had been thoroughly humanized. The god, or his accepted surrogate, the image, dwelt in a temple as the king dwelt in his hall, or *megaron*, and the forms of the temple repeat, in the main, but in an enlarged and beautified manner, the forms of the palace. But when the temple arose, it is quite clear that the belief in the gods had not begun to decay, that there was nothing of the familiarity akin to contempt with which artists and poets in the fourth century treated the deities of Olympus. Never would vast sums have been expended, and infinite pains taken, to provide abodes for deities who were not regarded as in close relations with man, and a present help in times of trouble. The rationalism of the philosophers, and the spread of Oriental enthusiasms, in time destroyed Greek national religion; but the process was a very slow one, not completed even in the days of Alexander

the Great. And with religion, art and the drama and literature generally fell into decay: only philosophy and science survived.

The purposes of the Greek temple may be easily discerned from the study of its plan; but besides, those purposes are emphasized by all the details of the construction and decoration. The plan is of extreme simplicity. The building usually consisted of three parts, of which by far the most important

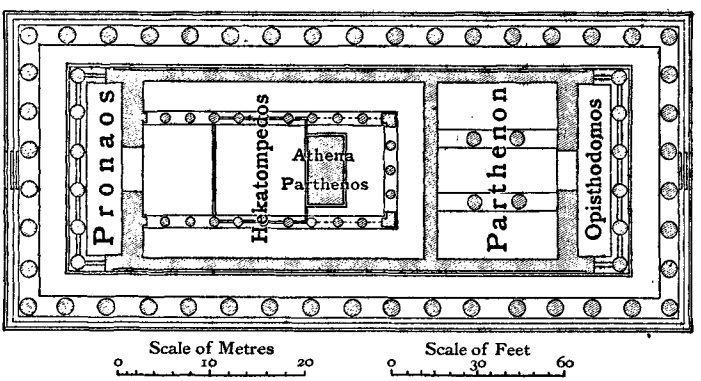


FIG. 1. — Plan of the Parthenon.[1]

was the cella, wherein stood the statue of the indwelling deity, the jewel for which the whole temple was but an ornamented shrine or box. In the fifth century, at all events, the size and form of the cella was carefully planned for and adapted to the display of this image. Smaller chambers in front and behind, the pronaos and opisthodomos, were mostly used for the storage of the sacrificial vessels belonging to the service of the deity, and all sorts of objects of value which were dedicated to him. Sometimes, in addition, the temple was a treasury for the custody of money, sometimes belonging, as at Delos, to the

[1] By Dörpfeld, in *Athen. Mittheil.*, 1881, Pl. XII.

landed estate of the God. Outside the cella with its dependencies were porches of approach, and often a corridor surrounded by pillars running all round the edifice.

These simple facts will at once emphasize the contrast between the ancient temple and the modern church, though the cathedrals of the Roman and Byzantine Churches are in less marked contrast to Greek ways of thought than those of the Reformed Churches. To the Greeks the cella was primarily the abode of the deity: there was no congregational worship. The festivals and processions of the city took place outside the temples, though often within the sacred *temenos*, or enclosure. Those who entered the temple came usually as individuals, or in families, to make some offering or to beseech the favour of the deity. In later times the temple was little but a museum of art and inscriptions. But in the earlier ages the very presence of the temple, enshrining the national deity, was regarded by all as the chief pride of the city, and its guarantee against foes without and sedition within. The chief deity of each city represented that city in embodied ideal form, and was scarcely to be distinguished from the personification of the city itself.

Such is the purpose, the informing and active purpose, which prompted men to erect temples, and to erect them in one fashion rather than another. But in this case, as in others, we must keep apart the two matters of the purpose or final cause of the temple and its origins or historic antecedents. In treating of the construction and decoration of the buildings, this distinction is essential, and it has often been overlooked. Thus some archaeologists speak as if all the features of the temple could be derived from the fact that it was originally copied from a dwelling-house, and of wooden construction. Others are disposed to treat it as if it had been thought out purposefully in stone, and every detail calculated to produce a

given aesthetic or religious impression. The true way, as usual, is the *via media*. It was purpose which determined the details of the construction, but that purpose often only existed in unconscious form, as a tendency. And the tendency could work only under given conditions, and in the direction not of a fresh creation, but of an adaptation of what already existed.

Let us briefly consider in this light the chief details of the temple, both of its construction and of its decoration.

In the construction the most notable quality is extreme simplicity and intelligibility. The temple may be compared to a crystal. At a little distance all its lines seem to be straight, and they do not cut one another. One finds continual repetition of single forms, such as the pillar, or alternate forms, as in the triglyph and metope. The rhythm is 1 : 1 or 1 : 2; only seldom 1 : 2 : 3. Almost the only Greek temple of any complexity of form is the Erechtheum, and here we have two or three small shrines in juxtaposition rather than in union; each in itself follows, so far as the conditions of the sacred place allow, the regular form.

Another notable feature in the temple, a feature which a modern critic finds it hard fully to realize or appreciate, is the pains taken over exact proportions. The subject of proportions in temples is one which is almost bottomless. In this respect no two temples are quite alike; the architects appear to have spent infinite pains in working out the dimensions of all members on some scale, of which the unit was fixed, as a musician might work out a theme in a given key. The unit was usually the mean diameter of a column.[1] There can be little doubt that this proves among the Greeks a far finer and acuter sense of proportion than exists among modern men. We are

[1] Choisy, *l.c.*, p. 402.

reminded of the rhythmical character of all Greek activities — how they performed all their athletic exercises to the sound of the flute, and even, in some schools of sculpture, constructed human bodies according to mathematical systems. Want of proportion, of rhythm, of balance, must have affected the Greek eye with a far keener sense of dissatisfaction than is quite intelligible to us.

Nor was their construction only carefully proportioned; it was also in the highest degree rational. Each member of the building had one function, and only one, which was obvious. The function of the pillar and the triglyph was evidently to uphold, and this function is emphasized by their decoration, which consists entirely of perpendicular grooves or flutings. The wall, on the other hand, is primarily intended to divide or enclose; it is a curtain in stone, and its decoration runs horizontally in narrow bands which remind one of the hem or border of a curtain. The base of a column is one thing, and its mouldings suggest its relation to what it has to bear. The capital of a column is another thing, and its forms are carefully adapted to bridging over the gap between the upward straining of the column and the solid, horizontal cornice, which in its turn is a basis on which is supported, in the Doric order, by means of triglyphs, the mass of the roof.

The decoration of the members of a temple is exactly in inverse proportion to their usefulness structurally. The shafts of the pillars are merely fluted, but at the capitals, where there is, at least to the eye, a pause in the strain, we have simple decoration, in the case of Ionic buildings, while in the Dorian a more strictly utilitarian principle prevails. The lines of the architrave also are gently emphasized by courses of simple decoration, such as the egg and tongue moulding. Only in the parts of the building which have, or seem to have, no structural function at all — the pediments, the metopes inserted between

the supporting triglyphs, the top of the walls—do we find a free hand given to the sculptor to compose groups in high or low relief. In the most otiose part of the whole structure, the pediment, we sometimes find figures in the round. But even where the hand of the sculptor is freest, he never thinks of following the laws of his own art without regard to the purposes of the building which he is decorating. On the contrary, he makes his compositions, both in line and in colouring, suitable to the structure. He works in high relief in the metopes, which are deeply recessed, in low relief in the frieze, which adorns a flat surface. He cultivates extreme simplicity, avoids the crossing of lines and of shadows, fills his space in such a way that there are no blank spaces. In speaking of sculpture we shall return to this subject.

When we examine in detail even the simplest architectural decoration, we discover a similar combination of care, sense of proportion, and reason. The flutings of an Ionic column are not in section mere arcs of a circle, but made up of a combination of curves which produce a beautiful optical effect; the lines of decoration, as may be best seen in the case of the Erechtheum, are cut with a marvellous delicacy. Instead of trying to invent new schemes, the mason contents himself with improving the regular patterns until they approach perfection, and he takes everything into consideration. Mouldings on the outside of a temple, in the full light of the sun, are differently planned from those in the diffused light of the interior. Mouldings executed in soft stone are far less fine than those in marble. The mason thinks before he works, and while he works, and thinks in entire correspondence with his surroundings.

No doubt all the parts of the temple may be considered from the other point of view, in the light of origin and development,

rather than in that of reason and idea. In regard to origins, the most striking fact is the double derivation of the temple and the marked difference in type between the Doric and the Ionic varieties. Both show a great influence of wooden construction; but while the Doric belongs to Greece proper and seems to continue the line of Mycenaean structure, the Ionic was developed on the coast of Asia Minor. The Corinthian style was but a variety of the Ionic, late in use, but going back to a not late type, perhaps originating, as M. Choisy thinks, in columns adorned at the top with metal decoration. Vitruvius speaks of the Doric style, with its massive simplicity, as essentially male, and of the slimmer and more highly decorated Ionic as in character female. M. Choisy has acutely traced many of the peculiarities of Ionic architecture to the smallness of the wooden beams used in its early efforts, whereas the Dorians, dwelling in a better wooded country, used from the first more massive beams. Another characteristic difference between the styles is that the Dorian architect was content with painted bands of decoration, the Ionian architect, more ornament-loving and luxurious, worked out the lines of decoration in relief.

Side by side, with only a moderate amount of interaction, the two styles develop. And so regular and uniform is their development, that with the help of a few temples of known date to serve as fixed points, it is possible to tell the period of a Doric or an Ionic temple within no wide limits. When temples are repaired, the repairs, as in the case of English cathedrals, are in the style of the time in which they took place.

We may observe how the Doric capital not only marks a transition from upright lines to horizontal, but also preserves the form of the wooden capital in the Mycenaean palace; how the triglyphs are descended from upright beams, and the metopes which they separate were originally open windows.

We may trace the gable form of the roof to wooden construction, as opposed to the flat roof of clay which is still common in western Asia. No one, of course, would suppose that reason and idea can find expression in a building, save by using existing materials of construction or adapting recognized ways of building to new materials. Slowly, age by age, the idea more fully penetrates the material, and uses it more freely to express itself. And in some particulars reason seems never to have fully mastered the material. For example, in regard to the lighting of the temple, we are at present unable to see how it was satisfactorily accomplished. The Greeks rejected the system of lighting by leaving spaces between the triglyphs, which seems the natural plan. They rejected, in the opinion of the best judges, the system of hypaethral lighting by leaving an open space in the midst of the roof. Whether they thought that the light which came in at the open door was sufficient, whether they had some system of basilican lighting, or whether they admitted light through semi-transparent roofing slabs of marble, is at present doubtful.

In the colouring of their temples the Greeks undoubtedly used paint which we should call glaring, and tolerated juxtapositions which would offend our eyes. Their principle, indeed, was not to colour large surfaces with an even wash of paint, but to pick out in colour borders and small members of architecture, as well as spaces which served as a background to sculpture. But even allowing for this, we should call their colouring harsh.[1] It would seem that the modern eye is as much more sensitive than the Greek in the matter of colour as the Greek eye was more sensitive than the modern in matters of form. But we must remember that races used to a

[1] See Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, art. "Polychromie," or the plates at the end of the second volume of *Olympia*. The terra-cotta decoration of temples has preserved its colours, but the painting of stone and marble now exists only in the shape of vestiges.

bright sun and a clear light can endure far more vivid colouring than peoples who dwell amid comparative darkness. And the Greek senses, though keen, were fresher and less wearied than ours. Even now peoples who live simply in the presence of nature have not the same love as the educated for half-tones and gentle transitions. Nor, in fact, has nature.

M. Boutmy has well pointed out that, in architecture, as in other fields of activity, the Greeks had the defects of their qualities. Their forte was fine sense and straight reasoning; but these qualities often passed into the excess of delight in merely perfect technique and a desire to reduce everything to logical schemes. We see the working of the last-named tendency in the rigid classification of temples by the orders of Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. In earlier temples, such as those at Paestum and Agrigentum, the architect has a freer hand. But as time went on, rule became stricter. The three styles are properly styles of pillars; but the Greeks could not resist the tendency to reduce all architecture, so to speak, to the key of the kind of pillar used. Thus it comes about that in the great age it is possible, if one has, in addition to the ground plan of a temple, a few small fragments of its architecture, to restore the whole, within narrow limits, with certainty. One sees how this excess of schematism and regularity must have strangled all vigour and originality of design.

The essentially rational character of Greek architecture is best seen in the Parthenon, its most typical example. It was first fully shown by Mr. Penrose, and has since become matter of general knowledge, that though, when regarded at a little distance, the Parthenon appears to be a regular structure bounded everywhere by straight lines, "l'idéal crystallisé en marbre Pentélique," as Renan said, yet when one closely examines it, one finds that nothing in it is precisely regular, that the pillars are not equidistant, the metopes not of the same size, and

so forth. One finds that the lines of the basis are not straight, but curved, that the pillars are in some cases not upright, but sloping, that they do not taper regularly, and the like. The whole building is constructed, so to speak, on a subjective rather than an objective basis; it is intended not to be mathematically accurate, but to be adapted to the eye of a spectator.

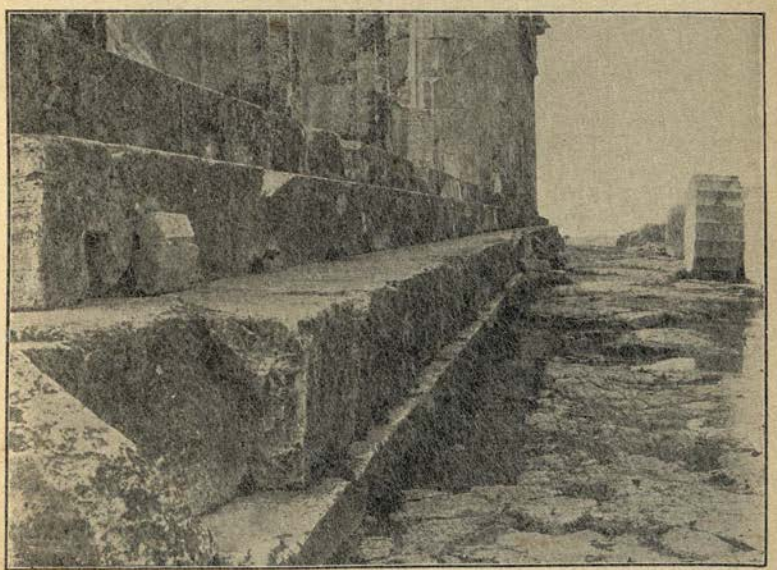


FIG. 2. — Sloping lines of basis of Parthenon.[1]

To the eye a curve is a more pleasing form than a straight line, and the deviations from rigid correctness serve to give a character of purpose, almost of life, to the solid marble construction.

The details of these optical corrections are given in so many books[2] that it is unnecessary to repeat them here.

[1] From E. A. Gardner's *Ancient Athens*, p. 272.

[2] For example, Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities:* "Templum," p. 780 (Middleton); E. A. Gardner's, *Ancient Athens*, p. 270, etc.

An American archaeologist, Mr. Goodyear, has argued that similar optical corrections are to be traced in St. Sophia at Constantinople, St. Mark's at Venice, Notre Dame at Paris, and many other of the greatest of mediaeval buildings. Mr. Goodyear is disposed to think that there was a continuous tradition downward from classical times; but it is perhaps safer to see the working of a similar spirit in great ancient and mediaeval buildings, before the objective spirit of modern science dominated architecture, and the purposes aimed at in buildings became more clearly conscious. This manner in construction may be not unfairly compared to the rhetorical manner which prevails in Greek literature, in history and philosophy as well as in oratory and poetry, and which also was one of the bequests of the ancient to the mediaeval world. The Greek artist, like the Greek writer, aimed not at rigid adherence to the truth, but at producing a certain effect on human beings. This is at once his weakness and his strength. It is his weakness when he passes from rhetoric to sophistic, flatters the weaknesses, and uses the follies, of mankind to win his own way. But it is his strength when he builds on a broad and solid basis of human nature which is universal and permanent. For the world and nature only exist for man as they are reflected in the human mind; and to recognize this fact is the first law of art as of all practical pursuits in the world.

CHAPTER IV

DRESS AND DRAPERY

It is necessary for every one who approaches the study of Greek sculpture and painting first to pay some attention to the character of Greek dress. For the human figures which are the subjects of Greek art are in the great majority of cases clothed. And whereas every one necessarily has some small knowledge and understanding of the human figure, very few persons, even very few artists, understand how Greek dress was cut and worn. This dress was astonishingly simple, and yet in its arrangement so foreign to our habits and notions that many learners find the greatest difficulty in understanding it, or in believing that it was in actual use.

It does not, however, appear, in all cases, that the dress represented in Greek sculpture and painting was the dress actually worn. There is in earlier Greek art a good deal of helplessness and convention, and in later Greek art there is what may be called a rhetorical tendency, a striving after a pleasing result without strict adherence to fact. We must therefore be on our guard in reading the evidence as to dress furnished by the monuments. Works of archaic art often present to us elaborate systems of folds and pleats which are quite conventional, and at a later time dress has beyond doubt a tendency to pass into drapery, that is, into dress arranged not for use but for artistic effect, as foil or background. But notwithstanding this, it may be fairly said that in the case of the great mass of Greek statues, and

even of figures in painting and relief, the dress is a possible clothing, and represents the actual dress of daily life as closely as the figures themselves represent the men and women of street and market-place. The ugliness of modern dress has caused us in our statues to adopt all sorts of fanciful and impossible costumes for our heroes and heroines, some of which are supposed to be Greek or Roman. There was nothing of the kind in ancient times. The actual dress of the Greeks was planned as much with a view to beauty as for use; its scheme was charmingly simple, and it scarcely varied from century to century. The degrading tyranny of fashion, which makes modern men and women change the manner of their dress every year in obedience to some unwritten law mysteriously originated and mercilessly enforced, was quite unknown in antiquity. It is, of course, this rule of fashion which makes it impossible for modern dress to become beautiful; for even if it in some year by a fortunate chance drifted in the direction of beauty, the beauty would in the next year become unfashionable, and ugliness would take its place. Being exempt from the necessity of constantly inventing new modes of dress, the Greeks were able by slight changes in its arrangement to make it more becoming and graceful; and these small improvements were welcomed and adopted by artists. But the main principles never changed.

A strong line of distinction must be drawn between the Ionian and the Dorian dress.[1] In dress, as in all the phenomena of Greek history, the contrast of Ionian and Dorian is emphatic, and the interworking of the two elements makes the

[1] I cannot in this chapter give authorities: for a fuller treatment, I must refer to Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Greek Antiquities*, Bk. I., ch. 5; Lady Evans, *Greek Dress;* Studniczka, *Griechische Tracht.*

web of history. All who have paid any attention to works of Greek sculpture must have observed that, in reliefs of an early period from the coast of Asia Minor, or even Athens, the dress both of men and of women is different from that to which we are accustomed in the later works of the Greek chisel. One of the best examples of this characteristically Ionian art is the beautiful Harpy Tomb from Lycia in the British Museum, a work which at once by the charm of its compositions and the mystery which hangs over their interpretation readily fascinates the student of Greek art. Here the dress of men and women is exactly the same; in fact, at the present moment the sex of some of the draped figures represented on the tomb is in dispute. This dress is of distinctly Oriental type; its likeness to that of the mural reliefs of Egypt and Assyria is obvious, although a second look shows certain differences. It consists of two garments (Fig. 3). There is an undergarment, which is a long chemise fitting the body and furnished with sleeves which reach somewhat below the elbow. And there is an overgarment, which is simply a shawl of square form, doubled, passing under one arm and fastened on the other shoulder. The two folds fall, one as far as the feet, the other not so far. The undergarment does not offer much scope for artistic variety; but the overgarment may be put on in many ways, as may be seen by any one who

FIG. 3. — From Athens.

examines the archaic female figures dedicated to Athena, many of which are now to be found in the Museum of the Acropolis at Athens.[1] Sometimes the fastening is on the left shoulder, while the right arm is left free; sometimes on the right shoulder; sometimes the garment is laid over both shoulders. Often on the breast the upper line of the garment is turned over a band which passes over one shoulder so as to produce a pleasing pattern.

This was the dress alike of women and of men, when in full civic dress, in Asia Minor down to the Persian wars. And it had evidently crossed the sea and established itself not merely in the kindred city of Athens, but even in Peloponnesus. The archaic sculptures of Delphi and Aegina and other important religious sites show us this kind of dress used by female and even by elderly male figures.

I must content myself with this general statement. I believe that nearly all archaic female figures, except those that wear the Dorian chiton of which I shall treat next, wear the two garments which I have mentioned. The great apparent variety of costume arises partly from the manner in which the overdress is fastened, partly from the way in which the folds are drawn over the band. Sometimes, however, there are difficulties; the manner in which the dresses are worn is not represented as something which is practically workable. Some archaeologists, examining the Athenian ladies, one by one and minutely,[2] have fancied that their dress is far more complicated than I have represented it. Into this matter I cannot go in detail; but it seems that these archaeologists fail through that overliteralness of which I have already spoken. They do not realize the conventions and limits of early art.

[1] A coloured cast of one in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The figure in the text is the dedication of Antenor, restored.

[2] Especially M. Lechat, *Au musée de l'Acropole.*

For example, vase-painters and sculptors alike sometimes represent the upper and the lower part of the same undergarment in quite a different fashion: the upper part being marked with crinkled, the lower with straight, lines. Some of the Athenian figures are examples, and we see the same custom in less extreme form in the vase-painting below (Fig. 8). In studying these dresses we must be prepared occasionally to cut a knot which cannot be untied, and to assume a greater simplicity than we can actually prove.

The Ionic was not, however, the primitive Hellenic dress. Herodotus (v. 88) tells us, no doubt truly, that the real national Greek dress was the Dorian, whereas the Ionian dress was adopted by the Greeks of Asia from their neighbours, the Carians. After the Persian wars there came a strong reaction against all the effeminate Oriental ways which had begun to corrupt the manhood of Greece, such as the use of elaborate coiffures and of trailing robes. And henceforth the Ionian dress gives way in art, and the Dorian takes its place, though the change does not take place all at once — rather by a slow process which lasts for half a century; thus we often find a combination of the Ionian and the Dorian dress on monuments.

There are two garments which belong especially to the Dorian dress, whether of men or women: these are, the sleeveless chiton and the cloak, whether the ample *himation* or the smaller *chlamys*. Dorian girls are usually represented in art as clad in a single heavy chiton, or garment without sleeves, hanging from the shoulders and fastened upon them by two heavy clasps or fibulae. A closer examination shows that this garment is often not in any way sewn or made up, but consists only of an oblong piece of cloth folded in a particular way. The following three diagrams will show how it was put on.

An oblong piece of material was taken (Fig. 4, I.), *lmon*,[1] and doubled over at the line *ab*, when it presented the form *abon*, where the portion *am* is doubled, an overfall. This was again doubled at the line *cd*, and folded backward so as to leave the flap *lmc* visible (Fig. 4, II.). The person putting it on would now stand inside it, that is, between the two folds, at *efhg* (Fig.

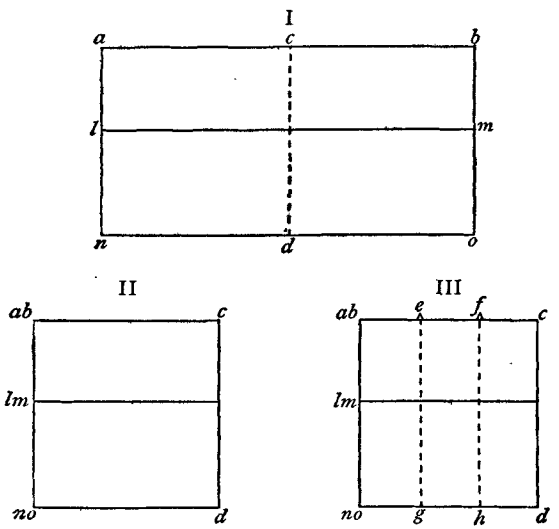


FIG. 4. — I., II., III.

4, III.) and fix with clasps the front and back portions together over each shoulder at *e* and *f*. She would then let the corners *ab* and *c* fall, and the whole garment would be disposed about her as in Fig. 5. In this figure, however, we notice beneath the line of the overfall *lm* a second line which freely undulates. This is produced by fastening a girdle round the waist, and by its help drawing up the lower part of the chiton and letting it fall over the girdle, thus producing the so-called

[1] From Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Greek Antiquities*, p. 53.

kolpos. Often in figures thus clad there is a break in the stuff down the whole right side of the figure, whence we can understand that this garment when worn alone was better suited to

FIG. 5. — Girl from Herculaneum.

indoor life than to that out of doors, though the Greeks were by no means so squeamish as we are in the matter of displaying the bodily forms.

The Doric women's chiton was commonly worn alone, and so may be considered as either an under- or an over-dress. It

would, of course, be possible to wear under it a shift, such as in fact we see on one of the figures on a sculptured drum of a column from Ephesus. Or it would be possible to wear over it the cloak, or himation, of which we shall presently speak. But usually when this cloak is worn the chiton is less ample, and the overfall is dispensed with. Like everything Greek, the garment admits of many simple varieties without losing its essential character. For example, when the huntress Artemis wears the Dorian chiton, she sometimes girds it up so that it does not fall below the knee. Sometimes the open side of the garment seems to be sewn up. Often sleeves are made by joining on the arm by means of clasps or buttons the front and back portions of the dress. When this is done, it is sometimes not easy to distinguish between the sleeveless Doric and the sleeved and sewn Ionic chiton. In fact, as we shall presently see, in the case of the great art of the fifth and fourth centuries, the under-dress is very often something between the Doric and Ionic type, and evidently made of soft materials and of ample dimensions.

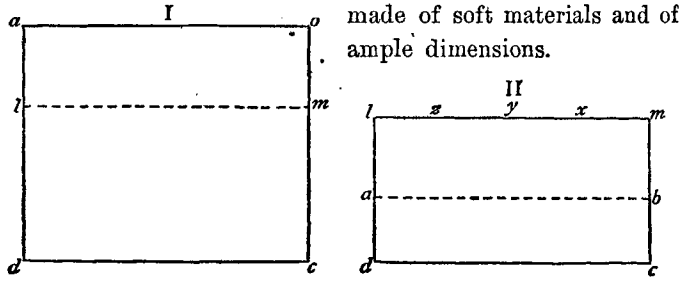


FIG. 6.—I., II.[1]

The Dorian dress, unlike the Ionian, is by no means the same for men and women. The chiton, or shirt, of men was in form not unlike the Doric women's chiton, but was far less ample, often coming but halfway down the thigh. Instances

[1] Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Greek Antiquities*, p. 55.

abound; for example, in the Parthenon frieze. Like the women's chiton, it was ordinarily fastened on both shoulders; but the workmen when at work, the smith-god Hephaestus for example, would usually gird it under, not over, the right arm, so as to leave it perfectly free for action.

The Doric cloak, or himation, was worn by men and women alike as an outer garment. The women's cloak would usually be of finer material; the men's more adapted to practical purposes. Its form is as simple as that of the chiton, but it is somewhat less oblong. It consisted (Fig. 6, I.) of a square of cloth, *abcd*, doubled over at the line *lm* so as to take the form *lmcd* (Fig. 6, II.). This was then taken up and the point *x* placed on the left shoulder, the part *xmbc* falling over the chest. The part *xyzl* was then brought round the back of the body, the point *y* passing under the right arm, which was left quite free. It was further brought round the chest until the point *z* reached the left shoulder, when the remainder, *zl*, was gathered together and thrown over the arm or the back. We thus reach the result shown above (Fig. 7).

FIG. 7.—From a Greek amphora.[1]

[1] Ashmolean *Catalogue*, Fig. 25.

It will be observed that in the case of this garment there is no fastening; it is held in place by its own weight and by the arms.

It is obvious that a garment of this kind is not adapted to be worn when the wearer is on any active employment, nor for walking about in wind and rain. It was like the blanket of the Indian or the overcoat of the soldier, carried about to be used for any necessary purpose. It is also obvious that it could be put on in a great variety of ways, so as to produce a number of artistic effects. Women would very commonly pass it not under the arm, but over both shoulders, in which case they would be warmly wrapped up, but scarcely capable of any active movement of hand or foot. If we judged by statues, we should suppose that while women always wore a chiton, or shirt, under the cloak, the men usually wore no other garment. But a study of vases corrects this impression. Men are there very commonly represented as wearing the chiton as well; and one sees clearly that the sculptor usually omitted the chiton in order to display the nude forms of breast and shoulder, just as in the case of soldiers he usually omits the body armour of breastplate and backplate, the stiff lines of which would be in sculpture unpleasing. Occasionally in sculpture, as in the case of the Bearded Dionysus and Mausolus, we have a male figure wrapped in ample chiton and himation. This is doubtless the state or formal dress which men of mark wore on occasion.

The case of women in the great art of Greece after the Persian wars is much more complicated. Young girls and the virgin goddesses, Athena and Artemis, usually wore the Dorian chiton, sometimes with an over-dress. In the middle of the fifth century we find on vases the Doric and Ionic dresses freely intermingled in the case of groups of girls. There is something of the kind on an Attic krater from Falerii here

figured (Fig. 8).[1] But here, as in later art commonly, though the dress of some of the girls is in principle Ionic, it is in fact between the two types, as the under-garment is neither sleeveless nor with sewn sleeves, but has sleeves made by joining the edges of the garment with brooches. And the over-garment is put on in the Dorian way; that is, held by its own weight and not fastened on the shoulder by a fibula. But in other cases the over-

FIG. 8.

garment is fastened with the fibula, and in others we have the simple Doric chiton, with overfall and *kolpos*. We may cite as examples of later quasi-Ionian dress the Fates of the Parthenon Pediment (where Iris wears the Dorian chiton), Artemisia from the Mausoleum, figures on the columns of the Artemisium of Ephesus, and so forth.

It is commonly supposed that the veil of women is a sepa-

[1] Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Pl. 17.

rate article of dress. Sometimes it is so, as in the so-called *Giustiniani Vesta;* but more commonly the veil is made by bringing the end of the garment, whether over- or under-garment, forward over the top of the head.

An outer garment largely used by men, especially young men, is the chlamys, properly the cloak of the cavalry soldier. This was an oblong piece of cloth, fastened by a brooch on the right shoulder, so as to cover the left arm, but to leave the right arm free. On horseback the left arm would hold the reins, and needed protection; the right was wanted for the whip or lance. The so-called Phocion, and some of the youths of the Parthenon frieze, wear the chlamys, which is often also worn by the huntress Artemis and Amazons.

I do not propose to examine in more detail the Greek dress as worn by men and women. My purpose is not to write an account of the actual habits of the Greeks in their daily life in the matter of dress; for that the reader must consult some of the works mentioned in the note at the beginning of the chapter. I only wish to explain to those who study the works of Greek art what is the kind of dress represented in it. It will be seen that, speaking generally, and omitting the Ionic chiton, the garments depicted in Greek sculpture and painting are merely square or oblong pieces of cloth cunningly folded, and so arranged, partly by their own weight and partly by the aid of fibulae, as to present a beautiful effect. If a modern costumer is set to produce Greek dresses for a classical drama, he adapts them with a multitude of tucks and strings and buttons. He may perhaps be following a necessity of the modern stage with its violent action, but he certainly does not succeed in producing anything Hellenic or classical.

Greek art was able out of the simplest materials to produce results of admirable taste and consummate beauty. The representation of Greek dress has in art a history or evolution closely parallel to that of the representation of the human form. We can trace from period to period how the stiff parallel lines and formal zigzags of archaic drapery grow gradually freer and more varied; how garments, instead of falling straight by their own weight from the hips or the shoulders, adapt themselves to the flowing outlines of the human form, until in the great schools human forms and the garments which cover them are welded into a harmonious unity, each throwing emphasis on what is most beautiful in the other.

But Greek representation of dress, no less than Greek architecture, has the defects of its qualities. In the fourth century we find the beginnings of a tendency to dwell upon the beauty of the lines of dress for their own sake, and not merely because they enhance the beauty of the person to whom the dress belongs as a whole. Even in the exquisite figure of Victory fastening her sandal, from the balustrade of the temple of Nike at Athens, one may trace something of this tendency; the folds of the garment draw away one's attention from the Victory herself and her relation to the group of which she is a part. Another tendency, which is visible even on the frieze from Phigaleia in the British Museum, but is more notable in later works like the frieze of the monument of Lysicrates at Athens, is to use garments or parts of garments to fill vacant spaces in a relief, using them as a decorative background, rather than in accordance with their true nature. This is, in fact, turning garments into drapery. It may perhaps be regarded rather as a continuation of the old *horror vacui* of archaic art than as a new departure. But whatever its historic origin, it represents that tendency of the Greek

mind to mere show, to visible effect, which is embodied in the case of literature in the rhetorical impulse.

P.S. Since this chapter was put in type I have seen the useful plates of Greek costume arranged by Dr. Amelung and published by Koehler, of Leipzig. These are very satisfactory, and if studied will save the student from many mistakes. Dr. Amelung's nomenclature differs somewhat from that which I have used. The Dorian chiton he prefers to call the peplos, a name for which there is some authority.

CHAPTER V

CHARACTER OF EARLIEST GREEK ART

WHETHER, in dealing with the grammar of Greek representative art, we should begin with sculpture or with painting, is not a question easy to decide. Painting is essentially a freer art than sculpture, and in all the changes and improvements by which art progresses toward its zenith, painting naturally takes the lead. To this general rule Greek art offers no exception. Polygnotus preceded Pheidias, and the impress which Pheidias placed upon art was in many respects originated by the Thasian painter. Painting at Pompeii has reached a degree of freedom and, so to speak, of modernity, which is never attained by ancient sculpture. Thus, if Greek painting were in our museums half as well represented as Greek sculpture, we should certainly prefer to treat first of the art of the brush. But unfortunately Greek painting is but very imperfectly known to us. We have to piece together its history from the designs of Greek vases and the frescoes of the Roman age, whereas we have an abundance of really good sculpture from all ages of production. Sculpture, therefore, on the whole, claims precedence in our treatment. We shall, to begin with, speak of Greek art as a whole, and then take up successively sculpture and painting in their separate and distinctive developments.

In spite of what was said in the introductory chapter as to the diversity of a search into the *character* of a nation's art and the search into the *origin* of its art, it will be expedient, before

treating of the phenomena of developed Greek art, to make inquiry into its earliest distinctive forms. For it is possible that in the infancy of art the national characteristics may clearly be visible. But we shall only go back to the beginnings of the art which is distinctively Greek, not to that of the Mycenaean age, which is informed by a spirit quite different from the Hellenic.

Considerable light has been thrown on the development of Greek sculpture and painting in relation to space and perspective by the writings of Professor Lange of Copenhagen and Professor Löwy.[1] Lange has expounded in detail his theory of *frontality* in early art, a theory of which Professor Furtwängler has observed that its discovery is like that of a law of nature.

This view must be set forth in Lange's own way. He observes that in all early statues in the round, including those of Egypt, Assyria, and Greece, down to 500 B.C., a law is observed to the following effect: "Whatever position the statue may assume, it follows the rule that a line imagined as passing through the skull, nose, backbone, and navel, dividing the body into two symmetrical halves, is invariably straight, never bending to either side. Thus a figure may bend backward or forward, — this does not affect the line, — but no sideways bending is to be found in neck or body. The legs are not always symmetrically placed; a figure may, for example, advance one foot farther than the other, or kneel with one knee on the ground, the other raised, but nevertheless the position of the legs shows the same line of direction as the trunk and the head. The position of the arms presents greater diversity, yet it is strictly limited by the attitude of the rest of the figure." [2]

[1] J. Lange, *Darstellung des Menschen in der ält. griech. Kunst;* E. Löwy, *Die Naturwiedergabe in der ält. griech. Kunst.* [2] Lange, p. xi.

The reader must turn to any representation of a human figure in the round, whether of Egyptian, Babylonic, or early Greek work, for illustration of this law. (See next pages.) There may be a few exceptions, due to exceptional conditions, but in almost all cases this psychological law holds with a regularity almost as great as is found in the working of the laws of nature. One finds figures stooping, or kneeling, or in a variety of other attitudes; but the frontal law still holds.

The law of frontality is also illustrated by a passage in Diodorus (I., 98), who relates that two sculptors of the sixth century, Telecles and Theodorus, of Samos, were set to make a statue of the Pythian Apollo. "The story runs that one-half of the statue was made at Samos by Telecles, while the other half was fashioned at Ephesus by his brother Theodorus, and that when the parts were fitted together they joined so exactly that the whole work appeared to be the work of one artist. . . . The statue at Samos, being made in accordance with the Egyptian system, is bisected by a line which runs from the crown of the head through the midst of the body to the groin, dividing it into precisely equal and similar halves."

When Diodorus says that this manner of representation is Egyptian and not Greek, he means that it was quite foreign to the later Greek art with which he was familiar. It does belong, as Dr. Lange has shown, to Greek art before 500 B.C.

A comment upon, or indeed an amplification of, the law may be found in an unfinished statue from Naxos, discussed by Mr. Ernest Gardner (Fig. 9).[1] In this figure any section cut horizontally is oblong in form, the front, back, and sides almost flat, with little more than a bevelling at the corners. This seems to show that in producing the statue from an oblong block of marble, the artist may have proceeded by drawing in outline on the front and side of the block the front and side aspect of the

[1] *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XI., p. 130.

FIG. 9.

desired statue, and then cutting right through the block, perhaps with a saw, in both directions, following the two outlines. Out of the mass thus produced, face, legs, and arms would be roughly cut, the transition from front to side would be smoothed over, and the result would be approximately of the form required. Whether or not the sculptor actually took this course, it is the logical way of carrying out his design.

Figures thus worked are clearly thought out in two aspects only, the front and the side view. We may conceive them as built about two upright planes which cut each other at right angles. This is, as I have observed, a further development of the system of frontality.

In line with this unfinished statue is the further fact that, in Greek painting and relief, figures are almost always in early times represented as either full-face to the spectator or else in profile; a three-quarter view is almost unknown. And very commonly one part of the figure of animal or man is represented full-face and another part in profile, without any proper transition from the one aspect to the other. Examples abound. Very characteristic is the figure of a horse (Fig. 10) from a vase at Boulogne published by Dr. Löwy:[1] the back part of the horse is drawn in profile to the right, the head in profile to the left, while the front legs and forehand are facing the spectator. One of the metopes from Selinus (Fig. 11) will well illustrate the same rule. Here the upper parts of Perseus and Medusa, whose head he is cutting off, are full-face, the legs of both are in profile; the horse Pegasus is entirely in profile; Athena is full-face, except her feet, which are in profile toward

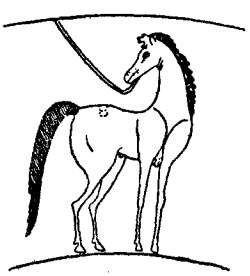


FIG. 10.

[1] *Die Naturwiedergabe*, p. 44.

the right. But in no case is there much attempt to mark the transition from one point of view to the other.

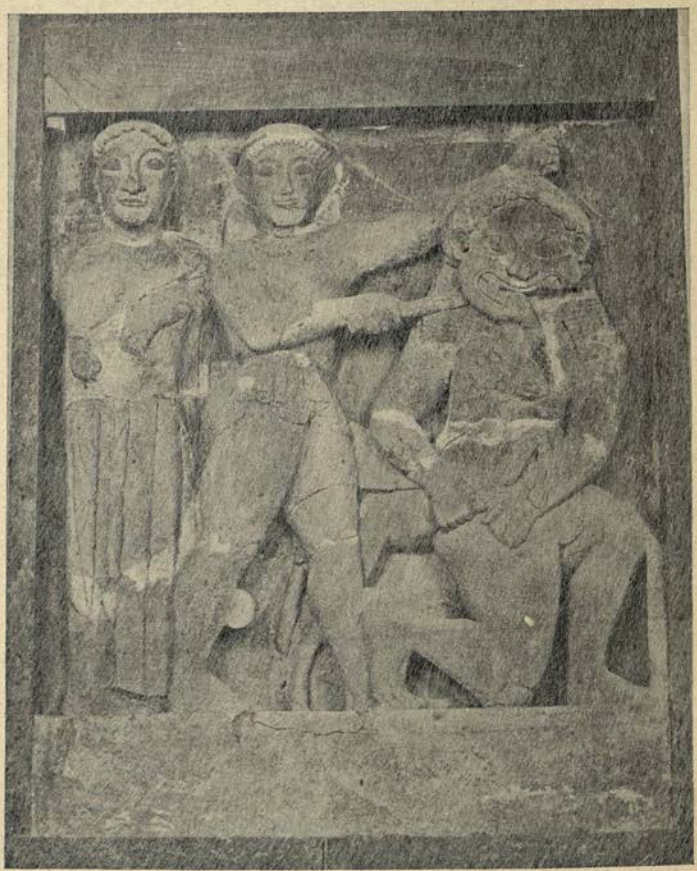


FIG. 11. — Metope of Selinus.

Of course sculpture, even in the latter part of the sixth century, did not always represent figures as merely standing, and made curious compromises in the attempt to represent them in

various attitudes. It will be found generally that when figures in the round are represented as running or reclining, they are intended to be seen only from front or side; for example, the Nike from Delos (Fig. 12) and the dying warriors of the Aeginetan pediments. The transition in them from full-face to profile is managed not with the same abruptness as in relief, but still with a certain sacrifice of correctness. To show how long this tradition lasted, I add an engraving of the Discobolus of Myron (Fig. 13),[1] showing that even this masterpiece, for its age one of the most wonderful of human works, is really calculated for the two aspects only: the legs are in profile, the chest and face are full, and the transition between the two is imperfect.

FIG. 12. — Nike of Delos.

As regards the basis and origin of these laws of frontality, there have been various views. The question is one of psychology, and well worthy of consideration, as it goes deep into the roots of our artistic and aesthetic faculties. It might be

[1] This photograph is taken from a cast made up of the Massimi head and the Vatican body, a reconstruction made at the Museum of Munich, and thence procurable.

thought that it is merely the result of the greater easiness and simplicity of representing an erect as compared with a curved attitude. But this view does not go to the root of the matter: we require a fuller explanation.

FIG. 13. — Discobolus of Myron.

Prof. Löwy has endeavoured to explain the phenomena which meet us in early Greek art on psychological grounds. He thinks they all arise out of inevitable tendencies of the human mind, anthropological laws which we may trace alike in the procedure of partly civilized peoples and the artistic efforts of children. I will repeat his views in my own words, and with illustrations.

(1) Primitive representations of objects in Greek art are based, like those of all peoples in the same early stage of civilization, not on any attempt directly to imitate a model, but on a sort of memory picture, based on repeated observation.

(2) This memory picture does not equally reproduce all the views of an object which are in the artist's experience, but only those views which are more typical; and these, generally speaking, are those in which objects appear in their broadest aspects. For example, the memory picture of a quadruped, a fish, a rosebud, will naturally represent them in profile; the memory picture of a fly, a lizard, a full-blown rose, will represent them as seen from above. And they will be detached from all background. Thus the full view and the profile view are the views most natural.

(3) The memory picture being in itself weak is strengthened by the putting together of striking and characteristic features of the object. These, however, are put together not in the organic fashion of nature, but rather as they successively impress the observer. Hence the art type will represent not so much a natural object as a mental construction. A good example of this will be found in the well-known fact that the sculptured man-headed bulls of Assyria have each five legs. The sculptor puts together the front view, in which two legs are visible, and the side view, in which four legs are visible, but one leg serves in both views, so that there are five in all. In a paper in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*,[1] Mr. Murray gives parallel examples from Greece — birds and sphinxes with one head and two bodies, and helmets with two crests, instead of one crest seen in two positions.

(4) Of groups and scenes the same rules hold good. If any part or element of background belongs to the action of the group, it is introduced, but by no means necessarily in objective place and connection. When we proceed, in chapter XII., to speak of the set schemes usual in vase-paintings, we shall find abundant examples. The group as there depicted is the group not as it objectively exists or existed, but as it is supposed by

[1] For 1881, p. 318 ; Pl. XV.

the mind to be. When, for example, on a fine Corinthian vase,[1] Amphiaraus' departure on the expedition against Thebes is depicted, the artist wishes to express the fact that Eriphyle, the wife of the hero, had been bribed by the gift of the necklace of Harmonia to induce him to take a part in the expedition; and this he does by placing a necklace very conspicuously in the hand of Eriphyle. As a matter of fact, the necklace would be at the moment the thing she would be most anxious to conceal; but it is part of the mental furniture of the scene.

(5) In the memory images and the art representations of motion, those attitudes are most impressive and are usually reproduced which are of longer duration. This rule applies widely in art, as must be evident to those who have studied instantaneous photographs, which constantly represent men and animals in attitudes on which the mind never dwells, and which are absent from art. The ordinary representations of trotting and galloping horses in the art of all nations do not accurately represent the horses at any moment of their course; but are, in fact, based upon a construction which results from a number of successive optical impressions.

These interesting observations of Professor Löwy furnish an explanation of the phenomena of frontality and of planes of working of which I have spoken, as well as of other phenomena with which I shall deal when speaking of early vase-paintings. The law of frontality is not strictly observed in Greek art after the Persian wars. Through the fifth and the fourth centuries B.C. one may trace its gradual decay. Before the middle of the fifth century the line drawn from the head of a figure to a spot between the feet bisecting the body is no longer quite straight, but somewhat curved, and the curve departs with time more and more from the straight line. The first result is to throw more of the weight of the body on one leg than the other, so

[1] *Mon. dell' Inst.* X., 4; *Vienna Vorlegeblätter*, 1889, Pl. X.

that one finds what the Germans call a *Standbein*, or leg which supports the body, and a *Spielbein*, or leg which is bent at the knee and free from most of the weight. In different schools

FIG. 14. — Diadumenus, Argive.

this balancing is carried out on different plans; for example, the solutions of the problem adopted in the Parthenon frieze and the Attic school are quite different from those accepted by Polycleitus and perpetuated in his statues of the Doryphorus and Diadumenus. With the Diadumenus of Polycleitus (Fig. 14)

we may well compare a contemporary Diadumenus (youth tying a fillet round his head) of the Attic school (Fig. 15), the difference in the attitudes of the legs being striking.

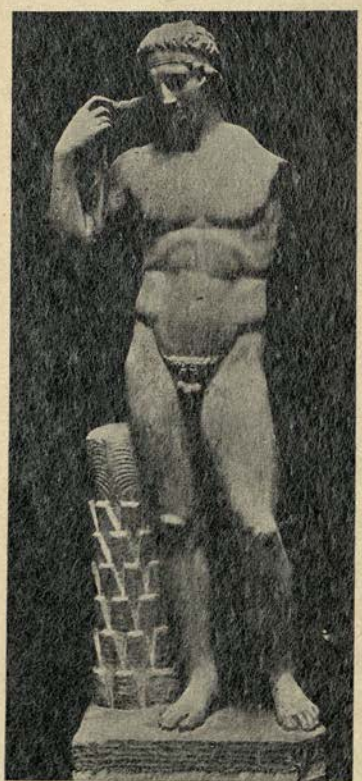


FIG. 15. — Diadumenus, Attic.

Professor Lange, with many other writers, is mistaken in too definitely associating this change with Polycleitus. As I have already observed, it proceeds during the fifth century in all schools, and the merit of Polycleitus does not lie in his being the first to attempt the problem, but in the particular solution which he discovered. The words *proprium ejus est uno crure ut insisterent signa excogitasse* have, in fact, been misinterpreted as meaning that it was the great merit of Polycleitus to have invented a plan whereby the main weight of the body was thrown on one leg. This, however, as Michaelis has pointed out, would require the dative case, *uni cruri*. *Uno crure insistere* must mean to move forward with one foot in advance, and in fact the most noted statues of Polycleitus are thus represented in actual motion.

The statues of the Praxitelean class — the Hermes of Olympia, the Satyr of the Capitol, the Apollo Sauroctonus, and the

Cnidian Aphrodite — are all similar in pose, and exactly alike in being all intended for view of the body from the full front, in which aspect alone they display their full beauty. Standing before them, one notices in each case three things: (1) that the face is turned so as to show in the three-quarter face position; (2) that the line which in archaic statues is quite straight from head to groin is greatly curved, so that the figures seem even to lounge; (3) that the tree-trunk, or other support necessary to a figure in marble, is worked in as part of the group. These facts give to most of the Praxitelean statues in our museums a certain family likeness.

Dr. Löwy has pointed out that there are no standing Greek statues which seem really thought out in three dimensions until we come to the well-known figure of the Apoxyomenus, which is usually regarded as a copy of a bronze statue of Lysippus, the court sculptor of Alexander the Great, but which more probably belongs in fact to the beginning of the third century.[1] The more direct imitation of nature, which came in in the school of Lysippus, though it did not much affect the work of that master himself, would naturally have the effect of which I speak.

Returning to the consideration of archaic art, we see in the progress of sculpture the gradual victory of practice and determination. The line of attainment, of successful grappling with the difficulties of execution, mounts gradually in the human body, passing from the easier parts of it to those which are more difficult. In the statue found at Tenea, and sometimes called the Apollo of Tenea, the feet and lower legs are carefully and, on the whole, correctly represented. In the statues

[1] This I have tried to prove in an article in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XXIII., p. 130.

of half a century later, as in those of the Aegina pediments, or the so-called Strangford Apollo of the British Museum, we find a not unsuccessful rendering of all the principal members of the body; only some parts of the head are inferior. The eye and the parts about the eye, in which so much expression resides, baffle the Aeginetan artist; the mouth, which is so frequently in motion, he fails to represent in repose, and the hair, which is unsuited to representation in a hard substance like marble, is given in a kind of conventional pattern. It is not until the middle of the fifth century that these difficulties are met successfully.

It is especially in the rendering of the head that even an eye not thoroughly familiar with Greek sculpture and painting can easily discern the stages by which stiff archaism passes into perfect mastery. The development is slowest in the case of eyes and hair, the former the most mobile and expressive part of the face, the latter the part to which it is hardest to assign a definite sculptural shape. But before speaking of eye and hair, the shape of the head and the proportions of the various parts of the face demand a few words. In the sixth century it is doubtful whether distinct types of head are in vogue in the different schools; at all events, the inquiry whether or not this is the case is too detailed and complicated to be here attempted. But there can be little question that Professor Brunn was right in maintaining that in the work of the fifth century we can distinguish between Dorian and Attic types. In archaic art, generally speaking, we may remark a decided predominance of the lower part of the face, the jaw and chin, over the upper part. This may be the result of the admiration of athletic types; at any rate, it seems appropriate in a nation in which physical development had the start of mental cultivation. In the fifth century something of this predominance still survives in the Argive school. There the head, of which

FIG. 16.—Head: Doryphorus.

the Doryphorus offers a good example (Fig. 16), when seen in profile, is notably of square outline, with flat top and considerable depth from front to back. Again, if the face be divided into three parts by lines passing through the brows and the bottom of the nose, these parts in the Argive head will be found to be of nearly equal height. If beside this head we place one of characteristic Attic type, such as the Hermes of

Praxiteles (Fig. 17), it will be found to be less deep, and vaulted on the top. And again, taking the three sections of the face, the upper section will be found to be longer than the lower. The Argive head has a more powerful framework, but the Attic is distinctly more intellectual, whether the difference

FIG. 17. — Hermes.

be caused by original diversity of race or by long habit. In the fourth century Scopas, to judge by the heads from Tegea, followed the Peloponnesian outline, while the heads of Praxiteles are decidedly Attic in type. But both sculptors agreed in throwing back the eye under a heavy brow and frontal ridge, by which means the expressiveness of the face is greatly increased.

A good example of the great difficulty which an object confusing to the faculties of observation offered to the early Greek

artist is to be found in the case of the human eye. Every one who has looked at early vase-paintings will have observed that in them, when a face is drawn in profile, the eye is turned full to the spectator. The male eye, bold and full, is represented as circular, the female eye, more modest, is almond-shaped.[1]

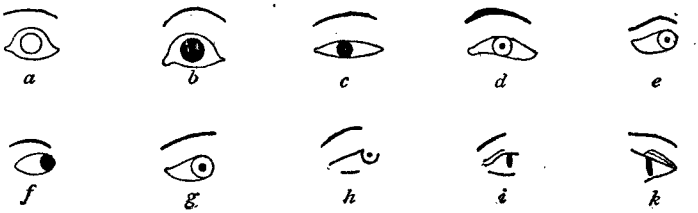


FIG. 18.—Male and female eye.

It was only by slow efforts, extending over a long period, that the representation of the eye was mastered. It turns gradually from the full-face drawing to a rendering in outline. Decade by decade the drawing of the eye, alike on vases and in reliefs, changes in the direction of nature, but complete naturalism is never reached. On the Parthenon frieze, for example, the eyes of the faces which are in profile preserve something of the old almond form. Towards the end of the fifth century the form of the eye itself is more correct, but even then it is set back from the nose too far, at all events when compared with modern profiles. It is not, however, merely the difficulty of representing the eye which makes its treatment in art so backward. We must revert for a complete understanding to the psychological explanations of Dr. Löwy. It is difficult even now for any of us to think of an eye in profile, and still more difficult was this to more primitive peoples. The eye of all things is that which most essentially looks at one, and so must be drawn looking

[1] Figure 18 in the text is due to Mr. Cecil Smith: see the *Cat. Vases in the Brit. Museum*, Vol. III., p. 4.

at one. The study of nature by slow degrees corrects this inveterate habit in art, but only by slow degrees. On vases, even after the profile eye has been mastered, we find curious inaccuracy in representing an eye in a figure turned three-quarters toward the spectator, when it is represented as either too full or too much in profile.[1]

The rendering of hair and beard in sculpture must always be difficult and almost paradoxical. For when we look at these outgrowths we do not observe definite forms, but rather light and shade. And to render in such hard materials as marble and bronze soft and flowing locks made up of multitudes of hairs seldom quite straight is a task almost beyond human capacity. Archaic Greek art, like the art of Assyria and Egypt, took the only course open to it and rendered the strands of hair as a sort of pattern, by spirals and waves and the like. (See Figs. 3, 12.) Above the forehead of early statues one finds rows of curls formed like snail-shells, or like corkscrews, or arranged in wavy patterns. Long curls, three on each side, fall over the chest, alike in men and women, and the mane of long hair behind falls straight and square, only marked with parallel waved grooves to show that it is made of separate hairs.

After the Persian wars, the fashion of wearing the hair long gradually gave way among the men. Yet in the art of the first half of the fifth century long hair was still usual, even in the case of athletes; it was cut short over the forehead, and the long locks which fell down the back were worked into a plait which was wound round the head. As contrasted with these athletes, young gods, such as Apollo and Hermes, still usually had curls falling from the forehead and long hair flowing over the shoulders. The hair of women was done up in a variety of nets and kerchiefs, and was smooth over the brows (Fig. 8).

[1] For example, a figure of an Amazon in Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Pl. 58.

As the representation of face and head became less formal, and more according to nature, the representation of the hair as a mere pattern could not of course persist. In the great art of the fifth century hair and beard were treated as quite subordinate to the face and head, being both alike short and simply rendered. It was in the fourth century that sculptors began, no doubt under the influence of portrait-sculpture, to make more of the hair and beard, discovering how greatly they may be used to impart character to the face, and how much they may be worked up from the point of view of style. If any one studies the portraits of poets, statesmen, and philosophers of the fourth and following centuries, he will be greatly impressed, not only by the remarkable beauty and dignity of the Greek man, but also by the way in which the arrangement of the hair and the planning of the locks of the beard may be made in the highest sense artistic and beautiful, as well as thoroughly characteristic of the individual, and of the class to which he belongs.

CHAPTER VI

SCULPTURE: MATERIAL, SPACE, AND COLOURING

Relations to Material. — The modern sculptor works almost entirely in clay, and thinks rather of the purpose and destination of his work than of the material. But in early Greek art the distinction of the material is important. The sculptor in marble was also a stone mason, and cut his statue out of the solid block, as indeed did Michael Angelo. The sculptor in bronze not only furnished a clay model to the caster, but went carefully over the result of the fount, repairing flaws, chasing with a tool, sometimes adding curls, or a wreath, or a sword-belt, and the like. Works in bronze and in terra-cotta are alike in being formed in moulds, as opposed to marble sculpture. But between figures in bronze and figures in terra-cotta there is the strongest contrast of character, the soft clay lacking all the decisiveness and precision which is appropriate to work in metal. In making moulds the artist must have had this distinction always before him. In fact, in regard to sharpness and clearness of fabric, marble comes halfway between bronze and terra-cotta.

Down to the middle of the sixth century the history of Greek sculpture runs in three parallel lines which seldom cross one another; each school had its own material or class of materials to which it commonly confined itself.[1]

[1] A most useful repertory of passages relating to the Greek sculptors is published by Mr. H. Stuart Jones, *Ancient Writers on Greek Sculpture*, 1895.

(1) *Sculpture in wood with inlays.* — The earliest Peloponnesian artists of whom we gain any definite knowledge are Dipoenus and Scyllis (said to be followers of the fabled Daedalus), who settled at Sicyon about 580 B.C. Their pupils carried on the tradition. The material in which they worked was chiefly wood, ebony or cedar, and ivory. In this school the custom naturally arose of using either marble or else ivory for the nude parts of the body, and coloured or gilt wood for the drapery, whence came the idea of the chryselephantine statue in gold and ivory. As early as 550 B.C. we find statues in gold and ivory of Athena and of Themis, the works of two Spartan sculptors. The chryselephantine statue was not, as has sometimes been supposed, a late and voluptuous refinement of art, but rather a survival of very early fabrics. The chest of Kypselus at Olympia, one of the earliest works of Greek art of which we have any knowledge, was of cedar, inlaid with gold and ivory. It is supposed that from the ancestral habit of working in wood were derived the flat surfaces and square outlines which are characteristic of the marble works of the Dorian schools of the Peloponnese. Since works in wood do not survive in the soil of Greece, as they do in the dryer soil of Egypt, we are obliged to form a notion of the early xoana, or wooden images, from primitive Peloponnesian works in stone. The accompanying illustration reproduces a

FIG. 19. — From Olympia.

small figure in Laconian marble found at Olympia, which was one of the three supports of a tripod (Fig. 19). It can hardly be said, however, that this figure preserves any marked characteristics of wooden style.

(2) *Sculpture in bronze.*—The origin of sculpture in bronze is not easy to trace. In existing remains we can discern the succession of three kinds of fabric. Down to about 550 B.C. it was the custom to cast solid in the case of small figures; but when large statues were required, to form them of plates of bronze hammered into the desired form and riveted together with nails. This process was termed *σφυρήλατον*. It is common in the metal vessels of Mycenae. Pausanias tells us of a bronze statue by Clearchus of Rhegium thus formed; and a golden colossus of Zeus of the same fabric was preserved at Olympia. The fabric may be studied in a bronze figure from a tomb at Polledrara, preserved in the British Museum (Fig. 20). The second method of working was casting the parts of a statue in separate moulds and then welding or soldering them together. It may be that this improvement in method was introduced by the Samian artists, Rhoecus and Theodorus, who lived in the days of Croesus and Polycrates. A fine kylix at Berlin[1]

FIG. 20. — Figure from Polledrara.

[1] Gerhard, *Coupes Grecques et Etrusques*, Pl. XII., repeated in many books and dictionaries.

gives a representation of this kind of work (Fig. 21): a sculptor's workshop is shown, in which colossal bronze figures are being built up part by part, and the surface finished with the file. Later the *cire perdue* process,[1] which is that used by the

FIG. 21. — Kylix at Berlin.

great sculptors of the Renascence, was introduced into Greece. In this process the surface modelling is done in wax, which is an even more delicate and perfect material than clay.

(3) *Sculpture in marble or stone.* — This kind of sculpture had from very early times been practised in Babylonia, Egypt,

[1] See E. A. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, Vol. I., p. 25.

and Asia Minor, and even in Greece, as the lion gate of Mycenae proves. But Dorians and Ionians seem to have rediscovered it for themselves; for we can trace, from the beginning of the sixth century onward, a regular and somewhat rapid improvement in technique, while in the earliest works the influence of wood-carving is sometimes to be traced. The first school to show some promise of the future perfection of Greek marble sculpture seems to be that of the island of Chios. The Chian sculptors, the list of whose works shows a marked preference for the draped female form, worked for their neighbours, and the name of one of them, Archermus, has been found on a base on the Acropolis of Athens. Not much later than the bloom of the school of Chios was that of some of the Dorian schools of Greece proper, which, although bronze was their usual material, have produced admirable work in marble, as every one who has studied the Aeginetan pediments knows. The work of the Dorian schools contrasts with that of the Ionians in that its motive was almost entirely athletic and military, while that of the Ionians was more decorative and soft. This contrast of the characters of the two stems, of which the Dorian may be regarded as the male, and the Ionian as the female, element, runs through the whole history of Greek sculpture, the balance swaying in some schools in the one, in others in the opposite, direction. It is impossible here to trace even the main outlines of the history of Greek sculpture, which is set forth in the professed histories of the subject most briefly and clearly in Professor E. A. Gardner's *Handbook of Greek Sculpture.*

Decorative and Substantive Art. — There is a radical distinction which exists between decorative art, which is subordinate to the general effect of the object decorated, temple or tomb,

utensil or vase, and art which is not decorative. The latter is often termed imitative, but it need not be imitative: a statue of a Centaur, for example, cannot strictly be called imitative. It would be better to speak of substantive as opposed to decorative works of art. Of the actual remains of Greek art which have come down to us, nearly the whole is decorative. The greatest statues of Greece have wholly perished, and of the lesser works of great masters only a few survive; nearly all are represented in our museums, if at all, only by Roman copies. On the other hand, the decorative sculpture of temples and tombs has survived in considerable quantities. In the same way, no great Greek painting is extant. Of the painting of the great age we have very few small fragments, while the decorative designs of vases survive in abundance. Pompeian and Roman mural paintings of the beginning of the Christian era are abundant, and a few of these may be considered works of competent artists; but the mass is of a very cheap and vulgar kind, and by no means fitted to give us a notion of Greek proficiency in painting, though the archaeologist can extract from it many historic facts.

Thus it is that our knowledge of Greek decorative art is far greater than our knowledge of Greek substantive art. Decorative art is necessarily far less close to nature and less under the dominion of the ideal than substantive art. The relations between the two are like those between garlands of flowers woven to adorn an arbour and the trees which bore the flowers in their entirety. In the case of decorative art, the relations of the representation to the space which it has to occupy are primary; in it we expect beauty of line and balance of composition perhaps more than meaning and idea. In all technical aspects Greek decoration is admirable; and yet perhaps its overwhelming prominence makes us think less than we should of the thought and purpose involved in Greek art.

We must proceed in regular order, dealing first with the relations to space which hold in the case of sculpture, and more especially of relief work. Afterwards we will turn to the higher and more ideal aspects of sculpture.

Relations to Space. — Greek sculpture falls naturally into two parts — sculpture in the round and sculpture in relief. Sculpture in the round again may be divided into two kinds — the single figure and the group. Relief sculpture may be distinguished as high relief, middle relief, and low or bas relief. High relief is deeply undercut and in some parts usually quite separated from the background: the metopes of the Parthenon are an example. Middle relief rises well from the background with abundant light and shade: the frieze of the Parthenon is a good instance. Low relief is in character far removed from the other two; in fact, its affinities to painting are closer than its affinities to sculpture. Originally dependent on the use of colour, it follows in all its history the laws of colour rather than those of the chisel.

FIG. 22. — Argive reliefs.

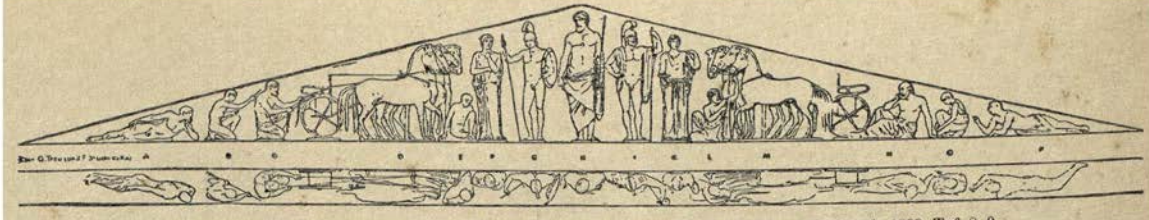
Early reliefs in bronze are not cast in moulds, but beaten up into them with the hammer, as are the gold reliefs used to decorate coffers and other utensils. I figure casts from a mould used for the production of reliefs of Argive type (Fig. 22) now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum. Here separate compartments are ranged side by side, and in each is a balanced design complete in itself.

The Temple. — Since a large proportion of the extant sculptural remains of Greece belonged to temples, it becomes very important to trace their relations to the form of the temple. These sculptural decorations consisted either of (1) the pediments, (2) the metopes, or (3) the frieze.

(1) The pediments occupied the triangular spaces at each end of the temple, above the entablature and under the roof. The Greek name for pediment, *ἀέτωμα*, is taken from the shape, which is like that of an eagle with spread wings. As regards both subject and treatment, the pediment was governed by strict laws. The subject was usually taken from the cycle of myth belonging to the temple or its deity, and usually the subjects chosen for the two pediments had some relation one to the other: at Aegina the two expeditions aginst Troy were commemorated, on the Parthenon, the birth of Athena and her victory over Poseidon, and so forth. The triangular form of the space caused the tallest of the figures — that is, according to the ways of Greek art, the most dignified of them — to be placed in the middle; and thus naturally the whole action was concentrated in the midst in a fashion somewhat like the concentration of interest at the end of a tragedy, and the figures at either side were of subordinate importance. In the corners were commonly placed reclining figures which marked the time of the event (sun and moon), the place of the event (local nymphs and rivers), or other circumstance. The action which culminated in the midst either

flowed thence to the corners or else flowed from the corners to the midst.

A more exact analysis of an example will illustrate the defined and rigid principles on which the sculptor of the pediment worked. We take as our example the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, the arrangement of which by Dr. Treu scarcely admits of dispute. The subject here is taken from the marriage of Peirithous; Pausanias says that it was selected because of the two most prominent persons represented in it; Peirithous was son of Zeus and Theseus descended from Pelops. The connection is not very close; in fact, one suspects Attic influence in the choice of the subject, since at Athens Peirithous and Theseus were closely associated. However that be, what is clear is that the sculptor at Olympia had to compose a pediment representing the violent conduct of the Centaurs invited to the wedding, and the fashion in which the bridegroom and his friend Theseus punished them. In the midst of the pediment (Fig. 23), like the tongue of a balance between two evenly poised scales, stands the dignified figure of Apollo, who, present invisibly, is really controlling the course of events. We must suppose the door of the guest chamber to be behind him; out of it issue forth on either side Theseus and Peirithous, armed with any weapons they could grasp, in hot pursuit of the Centaurs, who have seized upon the bride and her companions and are trying to make their escape with them. To each of the heroes is opposed a Centaur, in the very act of trying to lift his prey. And on either side of these central groups are other groups, or symplegmata, carefully balanced one against another on either side of the middle, representing the struggle of Centaur and Lapith, the balance of victory clearly inclining in favour of the latter. Beyond lie aged women reclining on cushions, evidently slaves who are crouching in terror; and outside these again, to mark the



Restoration of E. pediment of temple of Zeus at Olympia (Olympia). After Treu, *Jahrbuch*, 1888, Taf. 8, 9.

Restoration of W. pediment of temple of Zeus at Olympia (Olympia). After Treu, *Jahrbuch*, 1888, Taf. 5, 6.

FIG. 23. — W. pediment, Olympia.

locality, the young and beauteous forms of Thessalian nymphs, who look on with that divine calm with which nature watches the struggles and crimes of mankind.

The spatial adaptations of this pediment deserve a closer consideration. Omitting the two nymphs, which are a mere framing to the scene, and examining the groups from left to right, we shall see that the numbers of figures in them proceed in a regular rhythm, 1 3 2 3 1 3 2 3 1; and we shall observe not only how each group balances its match in the other half of the pediment, but also how the lines of each group are precisely adapted to its position. And further, it is possible

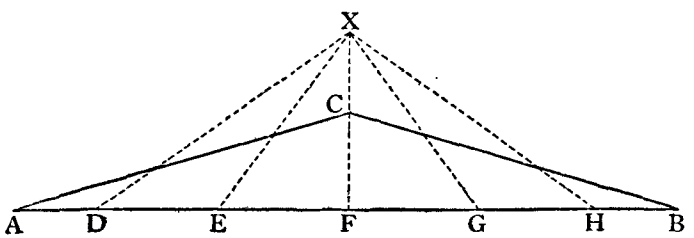


FIG. 24.

to take a point a little above the centre of the pediment, and thence to draw lines which shall pass as it were through the centre of gravity of each group, following the lines of its general direction (Fig. 24). In fact, the composition of a pediment is as exactly regulated as that of a sonnet or a Spenserian stanza: the artist has liberty only in certain directions and must not violate the laws of rhythm. The opposite (eastern) pediment is composed on similar lines. The subject is the preparations of Oenomaus and Pelops for the chariot race which was to decide the future of Peloponnesus. Zeus is in the midst, invisible like Apollo on the opposite pediment. On one side of him are Oenomaus and his wife Sterope, on the other side Pelops and his destined bride Hippodameia. The

chariots of the two competitors with their attendants come next; the river-gods Cladeus and Alpheus recline in the angles. Here the action moves not from the middle to the angles, but from the angles to the middle; it is centripetal, not centrifugal. But the whole falls into groups as readily as does the Centaur pediment. Zeus, the competitors, the chariots, the river-gods, make in all seven groups. The rhythm here runs 1 4 2 1 2 4 1; and side balances side accurately. The lines of gravity here also meet at a point above Zeus.

And in addition to the order in the separate pediments, we have a correspondence between one and the other, especially as regards the apex and the corners; only that in one pediment we have parade-like repose, in the other strained action. To modern critics of art the pediments of Olympia have been a great disappointment — and certainly they have not the finish and the charm of those of the Parthenon — but we must remember that they were meant to be looked at from a distance, and that they are decorative rather than substantive sculpture.

The growth and decay of pedimental sculpture is very characteristic. In the pediments of the sixth century, such as those recently discovered among the wrecks left by the Persian spoilers on the Athenian Acropolis, the corners of the pediments are occupied by the fish- or serpent-tails of fabulous monsters. In the best work of the early fifth century, the Aeginetan pediments, the whole composition is admirably balanced, the centre being occupied by the figure of Athena and the corners by wounded and dying men. Yet here it is single figure that matches single figure: we may say that we have rhythm, but no harmony; the correspondence of side to side is too hard and mechanical. As the fifth century progresses, and the great temples of Greece rise, this precise ponderation gives place, in the pediments of Olympia to the balance of group against group, and in the pediments of the Parthenon to

even more subtle rhythm, one seated and two reclining figures balancing two seated and one reclining, male figures corresponding to female figures, and so forth. Of the pediments of the fourth century we have little exact knowledge; but if Pausanias is to be trusted when he tells us that Praxiteles depicted in the pediments of the temple of Herakles at Thebes the labours of the hero, it would seem that within a century of the completion of the Parthenon the art of choosing satisfactory subjects for pediments had been lost, since a series of combats is a most unsuitable theme for a pedimental composition. If it be thought strange that so simple a condition as the triangular form of the pediment should prove so trying to the Greek sculptor, it should be observed that modern sculptors also have tried their hands at pedimental compositions, and with very moderate success. It would not be easy to find a pleasing modern pediment. Of course the modern sculptor works at a disadvantage, as the resources on which the Greek relied are not open to him; he cannot vary the size of his figures in accordance with their dignity, or fill the corners with reclining river-gods. But even apart from these disadvantages, the difficulties inherent in the form are very great.

(2) The metopes were originally the open spaces which separated the beams supporting the roofs of temples; but in the perfected form of the temple they were square spaces alternating with the triglyphs and running round the whole of the temples of Dorian order. Sometimes, especially at the ends of temples, they were sculptured. To the sculptural decorator they offered series of spaces of the same size and square shape to be adorned with reliefs which must needs be bold and high, in order to be visible in recesses under the roof and between the projecting triglyphs. The shape of the field limited the compositions to two or three figures; and the only suitable subjects were pairs of combatants, or dramatic

incidents confined to two or three actors. Such series as the labours of Herakles, as in the metopes of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (Fig. 25), or else the struggles of Theseus, combats of Centaur and Lapith, of Greek and Amazon, of Gods and Giants, naturally suggested themselves, and were repeated with what seems to us wearisome iteration from temple to temple. The temples, in the adornment of which the greatest originality was displayed, such as the Parthenon, furnish us with a few other groups, such as scenes from the taking of Ilium. In the case of this temple some scenes are spread over two metopes; but this was seen to be a mistake in method, for it was of the essence of the metope to be a closed group. Infinite diversity ranging within narrow limits of subject and of composition was a thing which pleased and satisfied the Greek artistic taste, not only in sculpture, but in all forms of art and literature. The ponderation of the groups and their planning so as to fill the space at disposal was a matter which greatly attracted the Greek artist, and in which he attained an unrivalled mastery. There are few metopes of the good age which will not bear a severe artistic anatomy, a tracing out of the lines of the composition, and its reduction almost to a mathematical scheme. When we treat in chapter XI. of the composition of vase-paintings, we shall go farther into the principles followed by the Greeks in the arrangement of simple groups.

(3) The frieze is by no means invariable on a Greek temple; in fact, the Parthenon is the only Doric temple on which there is such a thing, though it was usual in the case of Ionic temples, such as that of Athena Nike. The frieze was best adapted to some continuous subject. Often the Greeks used it for the representation of a battle, which could either be represented in a continuous succession of groups of combatants or broken up into a series of duels, as in the metopes. In some Greek friezes, as in those from the Treasury of Cnidus at Delphi

a

b

FIG. 25. — Metopes of Olympia.

and those from the Heroon at Trysa, we have series of mythological scenes of various lengths and chosen very much at random, like the series of paintings on early black-figured vases. The one instance in which a supremely successful result is attained in dealing with the conditions of the frieze is of course the Panathenaic frieze of the Parthenon. The spectator can follow the procession there depicted from its start at the southwest corner of the building, as the pace at first grows more rapid, till we reach the bounding chariots, and then grows more sedate and stately as we approach the spot where the sacrifice is prepared, and the gods wait to receive their approaching votaries; on whichever side of the temple the visitor walks he will see the same order of procession, and receive the same impression. On one of the tombs from Lycia of the early fifth century there is a procession of figures walking and riding in chariots, and on the sarcophagi from Sidon we find depicted funereal cavalcades; but it must be allowed that Greek artists do not always realize the possibilities offered them by the monuments they are set to adorn, as regards subject. Their minds seem often to be so set upon overcoming the difficulties of the task by some new arrangement of schemes, that they neglect the higher possibilities. This is another form of the rhetorical tendency of which I have spoken. The principles of balance are by no means neglected by the Greeks, even in the continuous representations of friezes. Any one who visits the Mausoleum room at the British Museum may observe that it is possible in that frieze sometimes to select a group and to discern how on either side of it figure balances figure and attitude attitude (Fig. 26).[1] The same thing holds of the frieze of the

[1] See especially the figures on either side of Series I., 8 and Series III., 3 in Overbeck's representation of the frieze in Ed. IV. of his *History of Sculpture*, or *Alte Denkmäler*, II., Pl. 16.

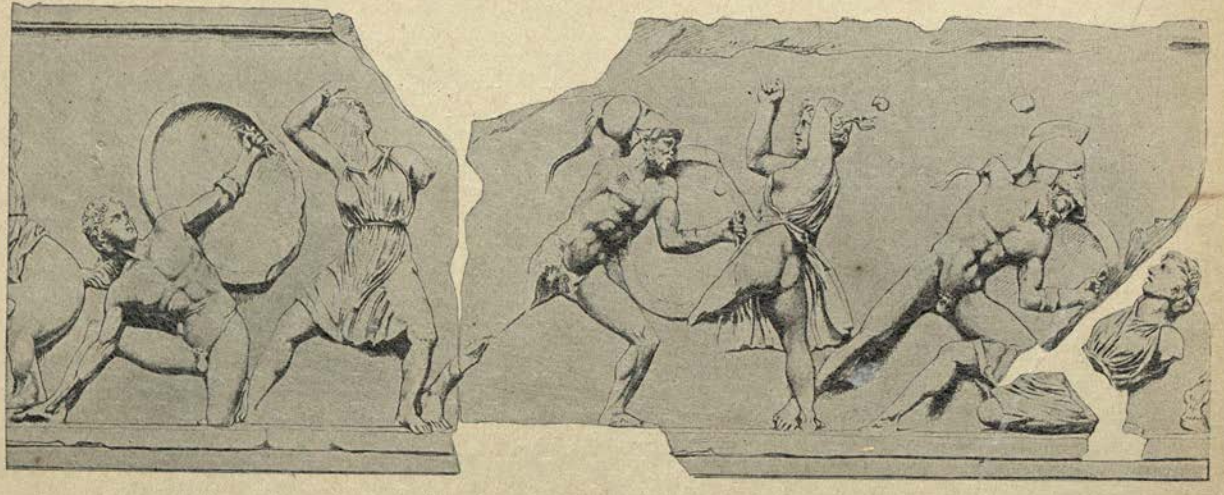


FIG. 26. — From the Mausoleum frieze.

monument of Lysicrates at Athens. There the figure of Dionysus with his panther is central, and if we move from this central group to right and left, we shall find an extraordinary balance of satyr against satyr and pirate against pirate. But perhaps the most remarkable example of balance in a frieze which has come down to us is the battle scene from the Alexander sarcophagus at Sidon. This is further considered in chapter VIII.

Other works of decorative art, not connected with temples and tombs, are composed with careful reference to spatial considerations. This part of our subject, however, is better treated of under the head of painting, as we can best illustrate it from the designs of Greek vases.

There are, however, a few conventions belonging especially to sculptural groups and reliefs which may here be mentioned.

Isocephalism is the convention whereby in a continuous relief the heads of the persons portrayed are kept as far as possible on a level, whether they be seated, or on horseback, or standing. This, of course, is not a hard and mechanical rule, but rather a tendency. The frieze of the Parthenon will supply abundant examples: the heads of the horsemen, the charioteers, the walkers, and the seated deities are almost on a level.

The heads of seated and of standing figures could be thus placed at the same level only by making the former of larger stature. And this brings us to another sculptural convention, that of adaptation of stature to dignity. In groups, whether in the round or in relief, it is usual to represent the figure of greater importance or dignity on a larger scale. Gods are represented as taller than mortals, kings than their subjects, freemen than slaves, and human beings in comparison with animals such as horses or oxen are represented in somewhat more than their actual proportions. It is a result of the idealist spirit which pervades Greek art and makes the artist regard ideal or moral

truth as more important than precise correspondence with visible fact. It is evident that this particular invention was of especial value in the composition of pediments, in which the most important figures would naturally be placed in the midst, where the form of the pediment allowed of greater height.

That colour is of the very essence of Greek architecture we have already seen. And as the decoration of Greek temples consisted not merely in painted ornament, but also largely in panels filled with sculptured reliefs, it is quite natural that colour should have been used largely in these reliefs; otherwise they would have failed to correspond to their environment. Greek substantive sculpture, as we shall see, was painted; but in decorative sculpture colour was far more necessary and universal. In temples the backgrounds of pediment, metope, and frieze were painted of some uniform colour, against which the figures of the relief stood out. And these, also, were tinted or painted almost throughout, while accessories such as armour, horse-trappings, and the like were added in bronze or other metal, so that the whole must have produced a variegated and vivid effect. This is no matter of mere conjecture: a careful examination of the temple sculpture found at Aegina, Olympia, and other sites has always resulted in the discovery of considerable remains of colour.

For example, Professor Brunn's examination of the figures of the Aeginetan pediments at Munich showed that while the naked bodies of the fighting warriors were only tinted and thrown up by a dark red background, the garments and armour were strongly coloured. The peplos and sandals of Athena were painted red; the helmets of the warriors were blue, with red crests. Eyes, lips, and hair of all figures were painted, and traces of red on some of the bodies seem to have

represented blood flowing from the wounds. Little holes in the marble show where sword-belts and ornaments of the helmets in bronze were fastened.

Careful examination of the sculpture of the temple of Zeus at Olympia led to similar discoveries. The background of the metope representing Heracles struggling with a bull (Fig. 25) was coloured blue, the bull's body brown, the background of the metope representing the slaying of the Lernaean hydra was red, the hydra itself blue. The hair, lips, and eyes of Heracles were coloured. In case of the pediments, though few traces of colour remained, yet the rudimentary way in which the hair and beards of the figures were worked out by the chisel proved that much had been left for the brush to make clear and emphatic.

The fact that Greek decorative sculpture was painted has been made more familiar to modern students from their seeing the remains of the archaic temples of Athens now carefully preserved in the Acropolis Museum. The monstrous male head with blue beard and green eyes which comes from an early limestone pediment, the variegated bodies of Triton and of the bull pulled down by two lions, have become familiar to us and given us a vivid notion of the strong and even crude colouring of the early limestone sculpture of Athens. Two things are made clear to us: first that the colours thus used were few and simple, bright hard red and blue principally; and second, that in their use the guiding principle was not the imitation of nature, but the production of a decorative design. Blue hair, red eyes, oxen striped with green, are no exceptional occurrences.

We find, as might be expected, that in later and more tasteful ages early crude colouring gives way to painting at once less glaring and more in accordance with natural appearances. I have already spoken of the temple sculptures of Aegina and Olympia. But if we would see the colouring of decorative

sculpture at its best, we must turn to the beautiful sarcophagi from Sidon now preserved at Constantinople.[1] On the great sarcophagus on which one of Alexander's victories is depicted (Fig. 30) everything is coloured — the background, the dress and arms of the warriors, their hair and eyes, even the bodies of horses and men. But all is softened and subdued, and although a decorative effect is aimed at, yet there is no clashing with natural appearances. Dresses are of bright and varied colour; but the blue colour of steel, the reddish brown of hair, the tints of flesh, are carefully and naturally rendered. And the painter has succeeded by some process in so laying on his colour that it does not conceal the transparent shine of the marble, but mingles with it.

As regards *substantive sculpture*, our evidence is less complete and definite. From the evidence of the archaic female figures found on the Athenian Acropolis we know that in the days before the Persian wars statues dedicated to the gods were coloured almost as fully as the pedimental figures of which I have spoken, and on similar decorative principles. The female figures dedicated to Athena still retain much of their colouring, and we can follow the bright patterns with which the borders of their garments were adorned, as well as the painting of their eyes and hair and other parts.[2] There can be little doubt that in the course of the fifth century, as sculpture became more masterly, it left less and less to painting, and that the colours used in painting statues became less hard. Yet since we are told that the eminent painter Nicias was employed to tint the statues of Praxiteles, we may be sure that even in the fourth century statues were not uncoloured. The evidence to be

[1] These are admirably reproduced, partly in colour, in the work of Hamdy Bey and T. Reinach, *Une nécropole royale à Sidon*.

[2] See Collignon's *Histoire de la Sculpture grecque*, Frontispiece; also a coloured facsimile in the Ashmolean Museum.

gained from existing statues is scarcely conclusive.[1] Many experiments have been made in the endeavour by colouring casts to reproduce the aspect of original Greek statues, especially by Dr. Treu in the Albertinum at Dresden. But such attempts are seldom or never quite successful, in part perhaps because it is impossible to give to casts anything like the warm transparent surface of marble, and a layer of colour on them is opaque and dead, whereas the colour on the marble sarcophagi from Sidon seems to be semi-transparent.

Perhaps the best notion of the colouring of Greek statues in the fourth century may be gained from an examination of the charming statuettes discovered in recent years in great numbers at Tanagra in Boeotia. When found these statuettes are as bright as spring flowers, and although some of their freshness disappears on exposure to the air, yet enough remains to give us a hint of the appearance which a gallery of sculpture would have produced in the later age of Greece.

[1] See, however, the head of Athena in *Antike Denkmäler*, Vol. I., 3, and the British Museum head in the *Jahrbuch des Arch. Inst.*, 1899, Pl. 1.

CHAPTER VII

FORMATION OF SCULPTURAL TYPES

THE Greeks, as has been well observed by Brunn, proceeded in art as in their written literature. They borrowed from the Phoenicians and other peoples the letters of the alphabet, but they used these letters to express their own ideas in their own language, and according to the rules of their own grammar. Similarly, they began their artistic activity by borrowing from the nations around them, or it may be from the primitive dwellers in their own country, certain simple forms — the human, the forms of animals and monsters and plants. For a long while they did not from the technical point of view improve on these, but they used them almost from the first to embody their own notions of decoration, their own religious beliefs, and the tales of their ancestral heroes.

The growth of Greek sculpture from such simple and rude sketches of the human figure as are common to most nations would of course have been impossible without a close and loving observation of nature. But the Greeks were determined to see with their own eyes. Other peoples of very inferior artistic capacity, the Etruscans for instance, were more apt in copying the careful and stylish representations brought to them in the way of commerce by the Phoenicians. But the Greeks, instead of travelling in the facile ways of the imitator, seem from the first to have hammered out a style of their own. The early figures of Apollo and of athletes, with which Greek

sculpture begins, are rudely cut, of simple and even repulsive aspect. Their great merit lies in their independence. Rude as they are, they cannot be confused with the productions of any other people.

No doubt the representation of men and women in Greek art rested upon a solid natural base; namely, the beauty of Greek men and women. Into the causes of this beauty we cannot go; it was partly the result of favourable natural surroundings, such as climate, partly of good social habits, partly it was a racial character. The divine Providence gave to the Greeks this inestimable gift. In the case of the men, the beauty is more easily understood, since they led free and healthy lives and daily practised in the baths and gymnasia. But how the Greek women acquired and maintained the astonishing beauty which we see in Aphrodite and Hera it is difficult to understand; certainly they led secluded and inactive lives.

It is beyond doubt the close relation maintained between Greek sculpture and athletic sports which lies at the root of its excellence. Some writers have dwelt much on the religious character of the Greek games, — and of course they were cultivated in connection with the great shrines of Greece, and were a part of the festivals in honour of the national deities, Zeus, Apollo, Poseidon, and others, — but to speak of the religious character of the Greek games is something of an inversion, and conveys a false notion to a modern reader. For it was the intense conviction of the value to man of such strength and beauty as were promoted by the games which procured them the patronage of the gods who represented the state and the race. Religion has in modern days been confined to certain fields of human activity — the spiritual side of man as contrasted with his more material side. But Greek religion,

which in depth could not compare with that of modern times, covered a wider field, and every power and aptitude of man, and indeed every form of enjoyment, was regarded as under the patronage of the gods and as pleasing in their eyes.

Greek athletics differed from those of modern days especially in three ways. In the first place, they were more generally practised. Probably almost every young man who was not deformed in body or of servile station occupied some of the best hours of the day in the exercises of the palaestra. Secondly, the Greek athletes practised and competed stark naked, and it needs but a moment's thought to realize the advantage which the sculptor would derive from the observation of so many fresh young bodies in every attitude of strain and conflict. Thirdly, in Greek athletics great attention was paid not merely to results achieved, but to style in performance. The exercises took place rhythmically, to the sound of the flute, and grace of action was quite as much admired as mere force. In modern athletics, on the other hand, results only are considered.

Setting aside mere difficulties in execution and technique, of which I have already briefly treated and which could be conquered only by practice and application, let us turn rather to the psychological side of Greek sculpture, and try to discern what ideas and purposes inspired the sculptor. What did he try to accomplish by means of his assiduous study of the human frame; to what ideas did he try to give an outward and visible expression? We must successively consider secular and religious art, the representations of human beings and of the gods.

The Greek sculptor or painter, who spent a great part of his time in watching the exercises of men, in seeing the most per-

fectly made of the youths strained in every pose of running, discus-throwing, and wrestling, would start with such a knowledge of the beauties of the human form as a modern artist cannot acquire. But he was not satisfied with the mere athlete of every day. He sought the type through selection from the particular. He studied many athletes, and by a process of selection and abstraction found among them his ideal, or rather several ideals. For it is evident that the boxer, the discus-thrower, and the runner would be of very various build and development.[1] For some exercises strength and hardihood were essential, for some suppleness, for some a particular build of limb. It has been too much the custom for those who have written on Greek sculpture to set down a statue as an athlete of this or that sculptural school; but the word *athlete* is far too vague; archaeologists ought to decide whether the statue is of a boxer, a pentathlos, a short-distance runner, and the like. Such distinctions clearly involve some detailed knowledge of training for modern athletic sports, and are worthy of careful consideration.

Professor Brücke of Vienna has pointed out in an admirable work[2] how especially beautiful details in the human body, found but rarely in nature, are common in Greek sculpture, and how when a particular formation of a muscle or a limb was recognized as the best, it was preserved through generations of sculptors. There was a continuity of tradition. Myron first showed how to balance the body in strong motion, Polycleitus perfected the representation of the trunk, Scopas the treatment of eye and brow, and so forth.

It has been objected that by putting together the excellences of various subjects one could only produce monsters, since nature works out each body on a consistent plan. This objection

[1] See above, chapter II.

[2] *The Human Figure.* Translated by W. Anderson.

holds good if the outward beauties be mechanically copied. But if the artist has the power to go deeper, to see how nature works, and to enter into her spirit, he may succeed in producing not a monster but an ideal, free from the defects which mark every individual figure. Nature, if one may venture to say so, in every case fails fully to reach the perfection at which she aims. The artist who can see the pattern according to which she worked may succeed in embodying it more perfectly in bronze or marble than it is embodied in flesh and blood. Such an artist would combine idealism with what I have above[1] called the higher naturalism.

The views which I have been stating emphasize the great influence exercised in Greek sculpture by mental processes as compared with mere impressionism or naturalism. As every representation of early art rests on a mental construction, so every figure of mature art rests upon judgment, which discriminates between good and bad, and emotion, which loves the good and rejects the bad. The aesthetic nihilism, if one may so term it, which is willing to copy whatever nature may offer, was very far from the artist's mind. It was not spontaneous variations in the evolution of man which he wished to perpetuate, but such variations as spoke of purpose and ideality in the forces which were moulding man.

It was thus from the practice of athletic sports that Greek sculpture learned its great lessons. But the faculty of working for the ideal thus acquired was exercised in other fields. The representation of the female form in Greek sculpture is not so varied and masterly as is that of the male form, nor does it so soon reach perfection; it is not until the fourth century that female types of supreme physical loveliness are produced. In this case the beauty must be racial; for the women of Greece, at least in Athens and the Ionian cities, led sedentary

[1] p. 13.

lives, and did not systematically cultivate either health or beauty. Nevertheless, they must have achieved them to a degree very rarely found among the women of modern Europe. Here again, no doubt, the exquisite types which have come down to us combine the beauties of several individuals wonderfully gifted by nature. We are told of the painter Zeuxis, that when he received a commission to paint a figure of Helen for the people of Croton, he made it a condition that he should have opportunities of studying the forms of the most beautiful virgins of the city. He selected for more detailed study five, whose names were handed down in honour to future generations.[1]

The sense of beauty thus born of the observation of beautiful young bodies spread farther, not only to grouping and the study of drapery, but also to portrait-sculpture. This is a branch of ancient art which has hitherto been much neglected, strangely enough, since it appeals in a special degree to the modern taste. In recent years important works, published of course in Germany, have made the study of ancient portrait-sculpture for the first time possible.[2] In turning over the portraits of Greek statesmen, poets, and philosophers, one is fairly amazed at the high level of beauty which they show: here a beauty not merely of outline and physical condition, but of mind and character. These great men seem to belong to a race which has perished, one very little resembling the inhabitants of modern Greece, but more like fine Italian or Teutonic types. It is a race of kings, reminding one of nothing so much as the heroic figures which meet us in the *Lives* of Plutarch — a book which has perhaps done more to foster manliness than any book ever written.

[1] Dionys. Halicarn., *De priscis script. cens.*, I.; Cicero, *De invent.*, II., 1, 1.

[2] Especially Arndt's great series of photographs, *Griechische und Römische Porträts;* and Bernoulli's useful *Griechische Ikonographie* and *Römische Ikonographie.*

It is, at least, very probable that a deep-seated cultus of beauty in the race would tend to produce beauty in children. This is a matter on which obviously I cannot here enlarge; but some of the evidence collected by Mr. Myers is striking,[1] and seems to indicate that mental suggestion made to women may modify the character of their offspring. This mental element has never yet been properly taken into account in ethnographic inquiries; it may be of the first importance.

There is also a marked contrast between the conditions under which the ancient and the modern sculptor work. In our days the sculptor ordinarily works from a single model, and the works exhibited at the Royal Academy show that the models accepted by modern sculptors are often of very poor type, ill-nourished and ill-trained. Among a people predominantly urban, and living under unhealthy conditions, the admiration of robust beauty in man and woman is apt to give way to admiration of what is fashionable or smart. The danger of physical degeneracy hangs low over all the nations of Europe. Our continual competitions, our restless travellings, our reckless sacrifice of all that restrains, in our endeavours to reach certain ends, make a gospel of rhythm and moderation seem to us dull and poor. It does not spur our jaded energies, or rouse us with a stimulating appeal. And yet, as it seems to me, unless the English-speaking races return in some measure to the artistic ideals of Greece, they are in the long run doomed. Overpowering ugliness of surroundings, physical degeneracy, nervous exhaustion leading to sterility, all these have, in spite of the efforts of a few, steadily gained upon us in recent decades; and the road which they mark leads to destruction. Those doctors who, instead of trying to patch up the ravages of disease and to prolong radically unhealthy lives,

[1] F. W. H. Myers, *Human Personality*, Vol. II., p. 516.

earnestly give themselves to making war on the outward conditions which lead to degeneracy, do us infinite service.

Though Greek art be based upon physical beauty, other and more strictly ideal elements enter into the superstructure. It is also essentially religious. Most of the great religions of the world — Buddhism, Judaism, Islamism, even Christianity — are inimical to plastic art, since they turn the eyes of their votaries not outward upon man and nature, but inward on the human heart. But the Greek religion was naturally allied with plastic art, and in a great degree lived through it. Greek religion found the way to embody in art all that most stirs the religious feelings of men at the stage of naturalism: the sun in its spendour, the moon in its gentle romance, the ocean and the river, the rock and the forest. It peopled the mountain glens and the waves of the sea with an overflowing life human in its forms. It found a natural and a concrete expression for all that excites the delight and the awe of the primitive man in the presence of nature. The modern artist renders the features of nature as he sees them, adding no doubt to the scene something of human emotion, which makes it interesting. The Greek boldly translated them by means of human parallels. And something of this religious rendering remained in sculpture, even when it had in the beliefs of the people almost been lost sight of. Poseidon, the ruler of the sea, with vast chest and unkempt hair, retains something of the resistless power of the wave and the drift of the seaweed. Apollo's long flowing locks to the end remind us that in the poetry of nature the rays of the sun are thought of as the hair of the sun-god.

Afterwards, under the influence of the Olympian religion, mere naturalism took on an ethical character, and the gods became more human as well as more humane and righteous.

Working on parallel lines, the Greek artist took up the task of adding a certain degree of moral and spiritual elevation to mere physical beauty. The type of the god grows apart from the type of the athlete, and the goddess is differentiated

FIG. 27. — Artemis, Olympia.

from a mere mortal woman. They are touched by the light of another world. But it was not in the Greek nature that the other-worldly elements should be entirely victorious, and put the merely human in the background. The Greeks stopped, at least in their great period, at a measure of moral and religious idealism with which plastic art could cope.

The essential difference between the religious art of the Oriental nations — the Babylonians, Assyrians, and Egyptians — and that of the Greeks was that, while the representations of the deities in Oriental art were symbolic, in Hellenic art they were ideal. The Egyptian or Assyrian artist distinguishes his gods and his goddesses by the animal heads which they bear, the attributes which they carry in their hands, or their dress. Deities are sometimes represented in monstrous form, part beast and part man, each feature bearing a meaning which does not lie on the surface, but which has to be explained by the priest. If a Babylonic artist wishes to depict the swiftness of a deity, he gives him wings — wings not meant to fly with, but only to be worn as a sign. If the artist wishes to represent his power over nature, he places in his hands, in conventional or heraldic arrangement, a pair of lions or of stags or of composite monsters, who stand for the malign influences of the spiritual world. And the Greeks, in the earliest stage of their art, would adopt from their neighbours such types — animal-headed, winged, holding monsters (Fig. 27) — and give to them the names of their own deities. Even in the time of St. Paul the Greeks of Ephesus worshipped Artemis in the form of a rude, misshapen image, whose many breasts indicated the rich and abundant life of the valley of the Cayster (Fig. 28).

Fig. 28. — Artemis; Coin of Ephesus.

As it grew towards maturity, Greek sculpture discarded this inartistic and conventional symbolism. Aristotle observes that a work of art is no mere symbol, but a likeness. It is true that the deities to the last, especially in their formal

cultus-images, retained attributes indicating their special provinces or functions — Zeus carrying the thunderbolt as master of the sky, Apollo the lyre, Artemis the bow, the herald-god Hermes his wand of office, and so forth. But apart from such attributes, which may fairly be regarded as survivals, each deity does, in very form, pose, and dress, embody the character and functions which especially belong to him. It was a slow and gradual process, which can be traced in existing sculptural works, an evolution which took place in the thought and spirit of the Greek people, and was embodied by successive sculptors in their productions.

Human materials were, of course, used in the production of the divine results. The type of Zeus, the father of gods and men, is a reflection of the Greek human father, as we see him in the Athenian sepulchral reliefs, seated amid his children. The type of Apollo is that of the young athlete, in all the glory of perfect symmetry and agile force. Hermes is the idealized herald, Asclepius the idealized family physician. The type of Artemis is taken from the active virgins of Laconia, skilled in athletic sports, and said to be capable of wrestling with youths of their own age. If we compare a later sculptural type of Artemis, the well-known figure of the Louvre, for example (Fig. 29), with the types above mentioned, we shall see how a mere external symbolism gives way to an incorporation in the figure itself of its divine attributes. The swiftness of the deity is no longer represented by the addition of merely symbolic wings, but is seen in her lofty and strongly knit frame. The power over the animal creation which belonged to the goddess is no longer represented by placing two lions or two stags in her hands, but by the deer which runs beside her, a willing votary and no longer a mere captive. Even barbarous art might easily represent a deity of nature as running and drawing the bow.[1]

[1] Compare the Mycenaean gem, Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, Pl. II., 24.

The superiority of the Greek rendering lies in the thoroughly harmonious and ideal character of the statue, which represents not a mere woman, but a being of perpetual youth and vigour. It differs from the works of barbarous art as a Greek poem differs from a rudely cut pictographic legend.

FIG. 29. — Artemis of the Louvre.

Athena is somewhat unusual, retaining all through the history of Greek art her arms, her helmet and aegis, save in a few exceptional cases. The reason of this is that the goddess of war must be martial; and as there were no martial women for sculptors to copy, they had to add armour to an ordinary woman. The thoughtful face and rounded limbs of Athena stand in strange contrast to her martial equipment. Here mere symbolism has survived. We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that Athena had become closely identified with the corporate personality of the great city of Athens, over

which she presided. She had to embody that city in all its activities—in arms as goddess of victory, in arts as Athena Ergané, the patroness of work, in health and beauty as Athena Hygieia.

In the representation of some other deities we may note traces of symbolism which survive. Hermes frequently has small wings attached to his cap or his feet; and these are clearly merely symbolic survivals of the great shoulder wings of Oriental sculpture.

Generally speaking, in later art the gods are almost wholly humanized. Even the Satyr retains only the pointed ears and the short tail of his half-human prototype, though Pan on the other hand keeps the goat's legs, which had accrued to him as the god of the herdsmen.

In the great work of Professor Overbeck on the types of the deities, the *Kunstmythologie*, we constantly find the question raised, What sculptor is responsible for the type of such and such a deity? Overbeck maintains that nearly always it is one or two great sculptors who fixed for all time the type of each, just as the Homeric poems fixed for all time the poetic character of many of them. Overbeck perhaps falls into the German fault of over-schematizing. But still it is quite true that when once a high type had been fixed for a deity in sculpture, that type was seldom afterwards lost sight of or entirely superseded. At a moment which can be fixed the fruit was ripe, and afterwards began to decay. The types of Zeus and Athena were founded by the splendid colossal statues of Pheidias; the type of Dionysus was fixed for later art in the school of Praxiteles; that of Poseidon in the school of Lysippus. It almost seems that when once the national idea had been fully expressed by an artist whom it inspired, it receded like the sea when it has touched high-water mark.

"The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men," was

the exclamation of the barbarous Lycaonians when they saw the power of Paul over physical infirmity. This phrase sums up the process which was going on in the religion of Greece in all ages. That is to say, in the popular religion; for in Greek religion there were four strains: (1) The ordinary cultus of the deities, adorned by the poets, embodied in great colleges of priests, protected by the states. (2) The mystic religion taught at Eleusis and in the secret proceedings of the Orphic sectaries, a religion which dealt with such facts as sin and absolution, with communion with the gods and hope of a future life. (3) The religion of the philosophers,[1] a somewhat severe monotheism, full of ethical elements, and quite beyond the understanding of the ordinary citizen. To which one may add as a fourth element, (4) the old-world superstitions connected with magic and ghosts, such superstitions as have in the past always prevailed among the lower strata of the people, and have a tendency to come to the surface when the higher religion is eclipsed or in a state of decay. In a recent able work[2] this lowest part of Greek religion is treated as at once the oldest part of it and that which offers most possibility of progress. This I cannot concede. It is difficult to expel from the mind the notion that what is most barbarous in religion must needs be oldest; but we know that in all societies down to the present day there are strata in religion, which are almost independent one of the other, and go on from age to age almost at the same level. The few, two thousand years ago, had nobler views of divine things than the many have now: I say the few than the many, because it is not a matter of wealth nor of social standing, but of more or less spiritual nature. Thus the elements of the religions of Greece come from many sources, and live on during Greek history in different social strata, though of course action and

[1] See Dr. E. Caird's *Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers.*
[2] Miss Jane Harrison's *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion.*

reaction between the strata is constantly going on, the whole making up a tangled web which will probably never be wholly untangled. That there is a close connection in religion between the mystic element and the superstitious element is also a very doubtful thesis; there is a mysticism which goes with low views of the gods and a mysticism which goes with the loftiest views of God which man can accept.

It is the first of these kinds of religion only which had an affinity for art, and is fully embodied in it.[1] Alike mystic asceticism and philosophy have in all ages been indifferent or hostile to art. The attitude of Plato toward the Homeric poems is that preserved by most philosophers throughout towards the products of poetry and imagination, though of course some philosophers may have had aesthetic susceptibilities which they could not suppress. And there is to be found in Greek art from first to last very little of mysticism or of spirituality. A few late types — Sarapis, Isis, Mithras — may have in them something of spiritual exaltation; but such asceticism as made a profound impression upon the Christian art of the Middle Ages was quite foreign to the art of Greece.

It is in this light that we must interpret some of the sayings of ancient writers. Quintilian[2] says of the great statue of Zeus by Pheidias, that its beauty added something to the received religion. By this he can scarcely mean that the statue gave men a loftier conception of the divine nature, for in the Colossus of Pheidias, admirable as it doubtless was, there would be nothing to lift the mind from man to the superhuman, and Pheidias himself seems to have taken his inspiration not from the aspirations of the philosophers but from the *Iliad*. A clue is given us by the saying of Dio Chrysostom,[3] "Our Zeus is

[1] A very useful book on the relations between art and mythology is Dr. L. R. Farnell's *Cults of the Greek States*.

[2] X., 10., 9. [3] XII., 14; cf. H. Stuart Jones, p. 93.

peaceful and mild in every way, as it were the guardian of Hellas when she is of one mind and not distraught by faction." Zeus was the deity not of the individual seeker after holiness, but of the Greek race as an ideal unity. What Pheidias added to religion was a new tie uniting together the people of the various cities and states—a furtherance of nationality. In the same way, in the great statue of Athena Parthenos at Athens, Pheidias gave to the city a mirror or an embodiment of her corporate life. Athena and Athenae, the goddess and the city, could scarcely be separated; the man who brought an offering to the goddess gave it to the city, and the man who died in battle for the city died in the service of the goddess. Unless one continually bears in mind the nature of the city-state in antiquity, and the power which it exercised over the imagination of the citizen, the most important strain in Greek religion and religious art will not be recognized.

Sculpture, of course, went on during, and after the decay of, the city-state. In the opinion of the Greeks themselves it went on at a lower level; for it was reduced to taking as its main motive mere human beauty and perfection, and the line between the representation of the gods and the representation of men again grew faint. The deities which had acquired a tinge of mysticism — Apollo, Dionysus, Persephone — best kept something of the divine; Aphrodite, Ares, Hermes, came nearer to the human level. But as the Greek sculptors drew down the gods to humanity, so they succeeded, better than any other artists in the world, in raising the representations of men and women almost to a divine level. An age of stately tombs and of magnificent portraiture succeeded the age of temples and statues of the gods.

CHAPTER VIII

SCULPTURE AND HISTORY

SCULPTURE in relation to history may be considered in two very different ways: first we may inquire how the actual political history of Greece is reflected in the productions of the sculptor; second, how the course of sculpture runs parallel to the history of the Greek spirit in other fields of activity.

It might be supposed that the idealizing tendency of Greek art would make it unsuitable for recording actual facts of history — the details of a battle, the circumstances of a civic success, and the like. There is some justification for this view, but it must not be expressed in too absolute a way. The walls of Greek stoae abounded in representations which were in intention historic. Micon, or Panaenus, painted in a stoa at Athens a representation of the battle of Marathon, and Euphranor painted the cavalry battle at Mantinea in which Epaminondas took part. Our knowledge, however, of surviving Greek monuments forbids us to think that these would be realistic representations of "the delights and the horrors of war."

In the friezes of the beautiful Ionic monument of Xanthus, the so-called Nereid monument, brought to the British Museum by Sir Charles Fellowes, we find a sculptural record of an actual siege of some unknown city in Lycia or Caria.[1] Several scenes are portrayed, — the assailants advancing against the city and mounting scaling ladders to the assault, the general of

[1] *Mon. d. Inst.*, X., Pls. 11–18, and the histories of sculpture.

the besiegers sitting in state to receive envoys from the city, the flight or the captivity of the citizens. But though the scenes show us the course of events, there is nothing in them to help us to identify the besieger or the besieged city. The intention is to represent the generic rather than the individual.

On the great sarcophagus found at Sidon there are depicted two scenes from the life of Alexander the Great — one of his battles and a lion hunt in which he takes part. We will analyze the former scene (Fig. 30); nothing could give one a clearer notion of the mingled precision and ideality of Greek sculpture. To begin with, there is nothing loose or inaccurate in the representation of dress, armour, and the like. The Persian cavalry and archers, the Macedonian horse and foot, the Greek peltasts, are all armed and clad in different ways, and one can tell at a glance to which branch of the army each figure belongs. And each fights in his own way. Of course at no actual spot in the battle-field would different troops be thus mingled in picturesque grouping: the scene is not a realistic excerpt from the battle, but an idealized summary of it. Let us briefly analyze it, figure by figure. On the left, Alexander, distinguished by his lion-skin helmet, charges in person, overthrowing with his lance a horse and a rider, who had already turned to fly from his impetuous attack. At the opposite end, an elderly officer, probably the veteran Parmenio, hurls a Persian general opposed to him from his horse into the arms of a foot-soldier who hurries up. In the midst of the composition, a third horseman, a masterly figure, strikes down a Persian foot-soldier. To the left of the central group, a Macedonian foot-guard rushes impetuously on a Persian foe. To the right, a light-armed Greek boldly meets the charge of a Persian rider. Below, one sees two Persian archers drawing their bows, and five bodies of dead warriors, of whom four are Persian and one is Greek.

The Persians in the scene are more numerous, twelve to six, yet their defeat is clearly shown. A third of their number has already fallen, and others are falling. They cannot resist the charge of the heavy-armed Macedonian foot, still less the onslaught of the cavalry of the guard. What a Greek eye would have at once observed, and dwelt on with satisfaction, is the wonderful symmetry of the composition. Side balances side and group group to perfection, yet without any slavish or pedantic correspondence. The modern eye would scarcely notice the symmetry till it was pointed out, but it will bear the closest examination. Every figure is carefully worked out in reference to the whole scheme, and the story of victory and defeat is admirably told. To Alexander the Persian foe dares not even offer resistance; Parmenio has easily overthrown his opponent, but the younger captain in the middle still meets resistance. It is fair to judge that among the events of the battle portrayed were a charge of Macedonian foot on Persian infantry, another of Persian cavalry on light-armed Greek infantry; while the decisive move was the charge of Alexander and his cavalry. Thus the composition, while admirable in itself and perfect in detail, really tells us more of the tale of the battle than could any realistic extract. It must be explained that the whole relief is really continuous, and only for convenience divided in our engraving.

This sarcophagus is a wonderful masterpiece; but it is a somewhat late product of Greek art, and Attic sculpture at an earlier time took an even more ideal line in the representation of history. Of this a better example could scarcely be found than the sculptural decoration of the Parthenon, in which may be traced in an Attic rendering the whole history of the city of Athens from its mythical foundation onward; the history as it existed in the mind of the gods rather than as it existed visibly on the earth.

FIG. 30. — Sarcophagus from Sidon.[1]

[1] From Pl. 25 of Hamdy Pacha and T. Reinach's *Nécropole royale à Sidon*.

The history begins with the eastern pediment. Here was represented the birth of Athena. What was the original meaning of the strange story of the birth? Why the goddess leaped full-armed from the head of her father, it is not easy to say. In this matter there are various schools of interpretation. Anthropologists of the school of Mr. Lang will lay stress upon the monstrosity of the tale that Zeus swallowed Metis when Athena was in her womb, and then produced the child himself, and compare the still more barbarous tales of a similar bearing which come to us from savage races in the South Seas and Africa and America. Those interpreters who lay emphasis on the physical basis of myth will see in Athena the sudden dawn of the South, leaping up from the underworld, or the lightning springing from the cloven cloud. But we must not confuse, as many of these investigators do, the question of origin with the question of meaning. What it is of importance that we should know is what meaning attached to the myth at Athens in the fifth century. To the men who built the Parthenon, Athena was no phenomenon of savage myth, nor was she the dawn nor the lightning, but something nearer and dearer and more spiritual by far. She was, as I have already pointed out, the embodiment of the spiritual personality of Athens itself. And so when the goddess is born, Athens, too, is born in a high and ideal sense. Because she lives, Athens must also live. And she springs from the head of Zeus because the city arises out of the clear and determinate counsel of the gods, and is born to occupy a certain sphere and to do a certain work in Hellas and the world. She is born full-armed because without arms no purpose could come to fruition in the early world.

In the western pediment the tale is carried on. The destiny of the nascent city and of the Attic land is to be determined. Is Athens to become a votary of Poseidon? Is she to live in

the ways of the sea, to be devoted to commerce, to strive after a prosperity which is mainly material? In part she must take this course. Material necessities control her purposes, as they do the purposes of all cities. Men must live, and to live in the not too fertile Attic land they must increase their natural resources by manufacture and by trade. But still the city is not to be the city of Poseidon. In spite of physical necessities she shall remain true to her higher calling. Even her material development shall be controlled by Athena Ergané, the mistress of the workers. If she is to grow wealthy, it shall not be by merely supplying the grosser needs of men. Her main productions shall be connected with their higher activities. She shall produce the finest oil to make supple the limbs of athletes and to feed the lamps which burn in the presence of the gods. Her honey and her figs shall have something of the delicacy and the charm of the light Athenian air. She shall supply the most beautiful marble and the best wood for building and for carving. And one of her chief productions shall be those painted vases, in which she has almost a monopoly in the ancient world, and which have been preserved to us in such abundance in the tombs of Italy and Cyprus and Cyrene.

And beside and above all this, Athens is to be the city of arms and of courage, of song and the drama, of thought and wisdom. What Athena is in Olympus, Athens is to be on earth, the favourite of Zeus, foremost in valour and in wisdom, quickest to read the divine purpose and most persistent in carrying it out; the best visible embodiment of the divine thought which lies at the root of transitory phenomena.

The pediments thus set before us the destinies of Athens. In the metopes we see the city set about the accomplishment of her destiny in spite of many hindrances and various foes. The story of the development of order out of chaos, and civilization out of barbarism, is there presented to us in four chap-

ters. First there is the battle of the Gods and Giants, the issue of which decided whether the world was to be governed by the untamed forces of nature, storm and earthquake, lightning and cloud, or to come under the sway of an orderly and organized Olympus, with Zeus at its head. Among all the combatants in that memorable strife, none was more prominent than Athena, who, clad in shining arms, overthrew her opponent, Enceladus, and buried him under Etna. In this combat Athens is represented by her goddess. But in the second and third chapters of the history it is the ancestors of the people of Athens, under their ancestral leader, Theseus, who appear. Their foes are respectively the monstrous Centaurs, compounded of horse and man, and the monstrous Amazons, compounded of man and woman. By overthrowing the Centaurs, Theseus and his men made it certain that Greece should not be the prey of the barbarous races of the North, stealers of boys and women, drunken and brutal, but should be able to grow and develop in peace. What is meant by the repulse of the Amazons is not so clear, nor can it be so briefly stated. But I think those are at bottom right who regard the combats of Greeks and Amazons as a reflex in art of the early clashing of the primitive races of Asia and Greece with their female divinities, and the Aryan invaders from the North, the Greeks and their cousins the Phrygians and the Carians, with male deities and patriarchal government.

In the battles with Amazon and Centaur as represented in art, Theseus is conspicuous. In myth he is represented as aiding Peirithous in his resistance to the Centaurs when they attacked him and his bride in her Thessalian home; and as driving back from Attica the invading Amazons under their queen Hippolyta. We are unable to say how much actual history lies under these myths, whether the Athenians in the prehistoric age really took a large share in the wars against

the aboriginal people of Greece and against the rude Thracian tribes of the North. But whether the myths embody actual history or not, they certainly embody ideal history. If they do not tell us what really took place, they tell us at least what was supposed to have taken place.

In the monumental art of Greece one is somewhat surfeited with the Centaur and the Amazon. To a modern eye these compound and incongruous forms are unpleasing; and one greatly regrets that the Greeks did not aim more at variety. Probably Amazon and Centaur were perpetuated and stereotyped in Greek art for purely artistic reasons, because they offered the artist an unlimited number of defined and graceful problems in pose and composition. In time the love of artistic problem apart from meaning became the ruin of Greek art, just as its literary parallel, the love of graceful phrase and elegant composition, became the bane of Greek history and philosophy. But let us go back beyond later developments to the splendid freshness of art in the fifth century, and we shall see that the subjects of these metopes had not yet lost their meaning, that they still spoke to the intellect as well as to the eye and the taste.

The fourth group of metopes takes us out of the realm of pure myth into something more nearly approaching history, and brings us to events which passed in Greece for actual and prosaic fact. They represent the taking of Troy,[1] the vengeance wrought by united Greece on the city which had sheltered him who had violated hospitality and carried away the wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta. As every reader of Herodotus knows, the Greeks looked on their successive contests with the powers of the Asiatic mainland as the acts in a drama, the

[1] It is disputed by some archaeologists whether this is the subject of any metopes, and the deplorable condition of the sculpture prevents us from being sure; but it is probable.

drama of Hellene against barbarian. The final act of the drama, the overthrow of the Persian Empire by Alexander, was in the far future when the Parthenon was built. But already Marathon and Salamis and Plataea had been won, and already the pride of Asia had been severely checked by the Athenian army and fleet. These victories were quite recent in the time of Pericles. In a sense the Parthenon might be said to be a memorial of them. Yet it is not they which Pheidias chose to depict, but the earlier battles at Ilium. This is a very good illustration of the difference between the ancient and the modern point of view, and a good example of the passion for the type rather than the individual, which is so marked a feature of the best Greek art. We could scarcely imagine any way of commemorating a victory which did not give prominence to the generals to whom it was due. Yet, when one comes to think of it, that way of regarding matters is not really either artistic or pious. It is not artistic, because it concentrates attention on portraits which are not always really beautiful to contemplate. And it is not pious, because it attributes victory to the skill and valour of individuals rather than to the favour of Heaven and the destinies of races. Such, at least, is the Greek view.

These four series of metopes bring the history of Athens down to the time when the Parthenon was erected. And the frieze which ran like a wreath round the top of the temple carries on the history not into the future, but into the realm of cultus and religion. As the warlike activities of the Athenians occupy the metopes, so their peaceful activity finds full expression in the representation of the Panathenaic festival, the crown of the religious life of the city.

The intention followed in this glorious frieze — quite one of the most interesting of all works of ancient sculpture — is to be clearly traced. To begin with, there was, of course, no

notion of any literal or naturalist copy of the actual scene; everything is typical. The most striking features of the Panathenaic procession are brought out, but in a thoroughly harmonious and artistic, a somewhat conventional, way. Some writers of the last generation, such as Karl Bötticher, were so much struck with this predominance of the idea over the fact, that they maintained the representation to be not of the actual procession, but of a partial rehearsal for it — a wonderful instance of learned blindness and want of understanding. In the next place it has been pointed out that the animals brought for sacrifice are not the same in the north and the south parts of the frieze. In the north frieze they are cows and sheep, in the south frieze, cows only. Now cows were sacrificed on the occasion to Athena by the Athenians themselves; but the Athenian cleruchi settled in other lands sent more varied offerings — both oxen and sheep. Thus it would seem that the sculptor meant to insist on the participation of the colonists of Athens, as well as of those who dwelt at home, in the festival of Athena. His view takes in not Athens only, but the Athenian Empire. And in one group of figures he seems to go even beyond the dominions of the city. At the east end of the temple there is the group of seated deities, who await the approach of the procession. The festival belongs to Athena, but all the great deities of Greece are present as her guests, she being the hostess. I do not think it is fanciful to find in this grouping a reflection of the noblest of the ideas of Pericles, that of the unity of Greece. Athens was, in his view, to be dominant; but she was not to stand alone. Her relation to the other states of Greece was not to be the same as her relation to the hated barbarian. Beneath the shield of Athena all the cities of Greece were to find refuge, and in return they were to contribute to their patroness both tribute and honour. Could this idea be better expressed than by depicting all the chief deities

of Greece as assembled at the festival of Athena, under her presidency, and waiting to receive the long array of the citizens of Athens and the colonists with their respective offerings?

Shall we say, then, that it is in the main religious ideas or patriotic ideas which are incorporated in the sculptural decoration of the Parthenon? This is a question which scarcely admits of an answer, for at Athens the cultus of Athena was so closely connected with the pride in and love of her city that the two could scarcely be separated. In celebrating the birth and victory of their goddess, the Athenians glorified their city; and in recording the exploits of their ancestors, they glorified Athena. Finally, in commemorating the Panathenaic festival, they put on an ideal level the relations of Athens and the Athenian Empire with the protecting deity. Patriotism and religion were but two phases of the same feelings and aspirations.

We may take a few more of the Greek dedications, which show a similar point of view. At Delphi the Athenians dedicated a great bronze group in memory of Marathon, and it is instructive to see of what figures it was composed. First and foremost were Apollo and Athena, representing the divine favour, without which the battle would never have been won. Next were portrayed the ancestral heroes of the Attic tribes, every tribe and every soldier being thus personified in a mythical representative. Finally, as a rare and exceptional honour, the general Miltiades was introduced.

A similar religious and idealizing tendency is equally conspicuous in literature. In the story as told by Herodotus, the gods play a considerable part, and when Aeschylus, who had himself fought at Salamis, determined to represent on the Athenian stage the victory of Greece over Persia, he uses every means to

avoid drawing down the combat to a too realistic level. This was not easy, as the Persian ships and the Median chivalry were sights familiar to many of the audience. To represent them wrongly would be impossible, to represent them literally would not only overtax the very simple stage arrangements of the Attic theatre, but also transgress its main ideas. So Aeschylus lays the scene of his *Persians* in Persia itself, and the battle of Salamis is merely described by a messenger who arrives from the sea, and tells Atossa what has come to pass. But he does not dwell on the achievements of Greek heroes; he does not even name the leaders; his treatment of the subject is purely ethical. Aeschylus pays the victory of Salamis the great compliment of treating it in his play as if it had been one of the divinely ordained triumphs of mythical heroes of the Greek race. To the modern individualist mind it seems that the honour ought to belong to one *man* or another *man*, but that is not the Greek view. However, at a later time, individualism won more way, so that when Lysander set up at Delphi the trophy which commemorated the taking of Athens, he did insert in it the portraits of his sea-captains, and Poseidon is introduced mainly that he may hand a wreath to the victorious general himself.

There is something of the religious interpretation of history to be traced even in vase-paintings. A very fine vase of Tarentum[1] (Fig. 31) represents the conflict of Asia and Europe in a rather remarkable way. The picture is a large one, and contains three rows of figures. In the lowest row Persians are represented, bringing contributions of money to a treasurer, who is recording the amounts in his tablets. In the middle row is King Darius in the midst of his council, who are evidently deliberating on grave affairs; and a person in Greek dress, probably Damaratus, the Spartan refugee, is addressing

[1] *Mon. dell' Inst.*, Vol. IX., 51.

FIG. 31. — Tarentine vase.

the king, behind whom stands one of the body-guard. The subject of his discourse is clearly the invasion of Greece. That invasion was to come; yet before it came it was doomed to failure; and this is set forth in the top line of the picture, where we see Hellas standing safe between her two great guardians, Zeus and Athena; though Asia, represented as a proud seated queen, sends against her a kind of fury, bearing two torches and having snakes in her hair, over whose head stands the inscription *Ara*, or Curse. Aphrodite and Artemis on the right complete the tale of gods, with Victory, who is beseeching the attention of Zeus to Hellas.

The other subject mentioned, the way in which in Greece the history of sculpture was parallel to the main course of history, we cannot here consider. The connection between history and sculpture is not, as may be judged from what has been said already, so close as the connection between history and inscriptions, or history and coins. The course of the higher art does not throw light upon the definite facts of history; but it does accompany and throw light on the gradual changes in politics, in religion, and in custom which occurred as Greece ran her course. It is, however, impossible here to go further into this parallelism; I must refer the reader to the histories of Greek art and Greek sculpture, which deal with the matter in detail.

CHAPTER IX

GREEK PAINTING

We pass next to the consideration of Greek painting. Here, alas! our losses are far greater than they are in the field of architecture and sculpture. The sculpture preserved in our museums, injured though it be, is yet amply sufficient to inform us as to the character and history of the plastic art in Greece, and to enable us to judge it fairly. But the extant remains of the contemporary painting are very few and slight, and by no means adequate to enable us to understand the works of artists like Zeuxis and Apelles.

We are obliged to content ourselves as best we can with two classes of works, the Greek vases of the good period of art, and the fresco wall-paintings of the Roman age found at Pompeii, at Rome, and elsewhere. These are all, of course, far below the level of the best Greek art. Of the fresco-paintings of the later age I shall scarcely be able to treat in this work. We shall mainly concern ourselves with vases. And the paintings of vases, however slight when regarded as works of art, are important, as bringing us nearer than do works of sculpture to the mythology, the literature, and the daily life of the Greeks.

The true method in this as in other cases is to put together the statements of ancient writers in regard to art and works of art, such writers as Pliny, Pausanias, and Lucian, and to compare them with the remains of frescoes and the vase-paintings

which have come down to us. Each of these sources of information, the literary and the archaeological, requires the aid of the other; they may be compared to longitude and latitude in geography. If we know only the longitude or only the latitude of a place, we may try in vain to fix it. In the same way historic record and the examination of monuments apart lead to very vague knowledge. Their combination leads to exact knowledge.

The only systematic account of the early history of Greek painting which we possess is that given by Pliny in the 35th book of his *Natural History*.[1] Pliny tells us, among other things, that the Egyptians claimed the invention of painting; but that according to the Greeks it was invented at Sicyon or Corinth. First there came outline drawings, then inner markings within such outlines, then washes of colour, one colour only being used for a while. One of the earliest colours used was a red made from pounded potsherds. Pliny also gives the names of a few of the painters who made great progress in the art, telling us that Eumarus of Athens first distinguished male from female figures, and Cimon of Cleonae "invented catagrapha, that is, figures out of the straight, and ways of representing faces looking back, up, or down; he also made the joints of the body clear, emphasized veins, worked out folds and doublings in garments." Polygnotus of Thasos, Pliny adds, "first represented women in transparent dress, decked their heads with many coloured kerchiefs, and made great innovations in the art of painting, if it was he who showed how to open the mouth, to show the teeth, to supersede archaic stiffness in the face."

It does not do to attach too much importance to statements

[1] Especially sections 15, 16, 56, 58.

of Pliny, who is a most careless and inexact author. But he usually writes after reading Greek writers who are more trustworthy than himself. And it is likely that a safe basis for a history of early painting in Greece existed in the scientific days after Alexander, not in the form of tradition, which would be almost worthless, but in the shape of actual paintings preserved in temples and porticoes, and bearing the signatures of early painters, just as contemporary works of sculpture bore the signatures of their authors. If this be the case, the travellers and collectors of facts in later Greece, such men as Polemo and Eratosthenes, would be able to collect valuable first-hand evidence. Thus it would seem that when Pliny says that such and such a painter "introduced" an improvement, he really means that it is noteworthy in some extant works of his, and not to be found, or at least not to be so clearly discerned, in more archaic paintings.

If we compare Pliny's statements with existing monuments, especially with reliefs and vases, we shall find confirmation of many of his statements. The painting of the Mycenaean age seems to have wholly or almost wholly disappeared with the ruin of that civilization, though it is possible that some of its traditions may have lived on in Asia Minor. At any rate, we find a practically new departure in the drawing on vases of the next age, the geometric. This is partly in outline, partly in silhouette; and Pliny's notion that outline-drawing must have been the earlier is perhaps based rather on logical than on historic grounds. But when we come to Eumarus of Athens, we have to do with a historic character. We have an inscription found on the Athenian Acropolis, dating from about 530 B.C., set up by the sculptor Antenor, who describes himself as son of Eumarus. Eumarus would thus belong to the middle of the sixth century. The odd statement that he first distinguished the sexes may mean that in his paintings men were represented

with black or red, and women with white, paint, as is the custom in black-figured vase-painting.

Cimon of Cleonae was a contemporary of the poet Simonides; if he was at work toward the end of the sixth century, certainly that was a time when bold experiments in attitude and pose were being made, and art rapidly breaking away from the trammels of archaism. The red-figured vase-painting was just coming in; and in the light of it what Pliny tells us about Cimon seems full of meaning. In it we find fresh poses, more correct drawing, all kinds of fresh applications of skill. What is meant by the word *catagrapha*, which Pliny translates by "obliquae imagines," has been much discussed; I am disposed to think that it means poses other than full-face and profile; in such the art of the time would be making its first experiments. As an example, I give (Fig. 32) the face of a negro from a vase representing the adventure of Herakles with Busiris in the Ashmolean Museum.[1] It is later than the time of Cimon, but still a very interesting example of an attempt to introduce a new attitude, and indeed a new type. That it was certainly Polygnotus of Thasus who set painting going on new and bolder lines we shall see presently. When Pliny says he began to open the mouth and to show the teeth,

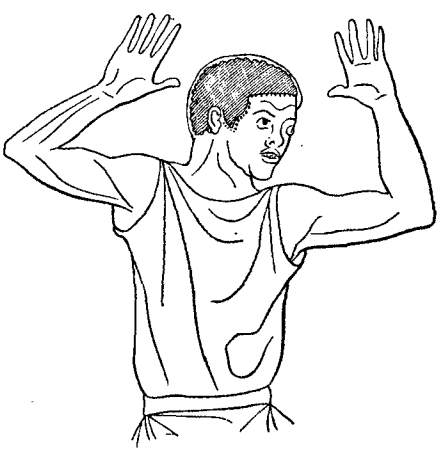


FIG. 32. — Type of negro.

[1] *Ann. d. Inst.*, 1865, Pl. P.

we think of the fallen warrior in the west pediment of Aegina who is grinning in pain. There are many contemporary parallels both in sculpture and painting.

It is worth while to inquire which among the monuments extant in our museums can give us the best notion of what Greek painting was, when it became really national and really progressive, say in the latter part of the sixth century. As regards colouring, we must fall back on the coloured sculptures

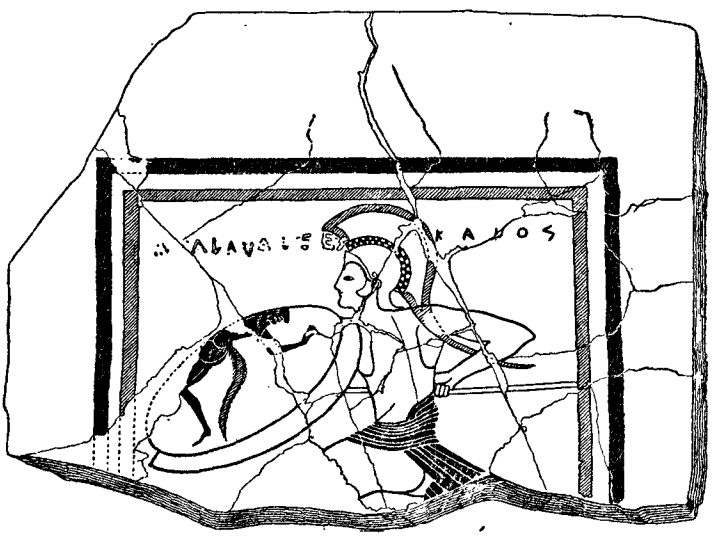


FIG. 33. — Tablet from Athens.

and reliefs of the period, which have kept some vestiges of their colours, whereas the frescoes have bodily vanished. Of these I have spoken in chapter VI. Perhaps such reliefs as the grave-monument of Aristion and the archaic female figures in the Acropolis Museum at Athens (as Fig. 3) are our best

evidence. But as regards drawing, we are far better informed: drawings on baked terra-cotta persist. A good example from Athens is a dedicated tablet (Fig. 33) published by Professor Benndorf,[1] representing a warrior charging. The name in the field, Megacles, which has been filled in over the erased name, Glaucytes, occurs on vases of about 500 B.C. In the case of this tablet four colours are used. The terra-cotta ground was first covered with a yellow slip or layer of fine composition; on the slip brown, crimson, and black are superposed, and in the black inner markings are indicated by incised lines.

But, after all, our best evidence for the character of the painting of the age of the Persian wars is furnished by the splendid series of vases by Epictetus, Euphronius, Hieron, and their contemporaries. Here we have a school of vase-painting of the greatest force and originality, and it is certain that there must have been a contemporary school of fresco-painting which belonged to the same stage of art and went on the same general principles of composition and drawing, though the designs which we have on the vases are clearly composed for the surface of vases and not for mural paintings. It is probable that if we had as detailed descriptions of the paintings of Cimon of Cleonae as we have of the chest of Cypselus, we could restore their designs from the evidence of red-figured vases as successfully as Mr. Stuart Jones has restored the scenes of the chest from the evidence of archaic vases.[2]

Soon after this, about 470 B.C., we come to the great Thasian painter, Polygnotus, who made his home at Athens, and who undoubtedly did more for painting than any one else. His contemporaries, Micon, and Panaenus, the brother of Pheidias, formed with him a great school. And we come now into clearer light, since Pausanias has left us careful and detailed

[1] *Ephemeris*, 1887, Pl. VI., p. 115.

[2] *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1894, Pl. I.

accounts of some of the great paintings of Polygnotus and Micon in the Stoa Poikilé at Athens, and the Lesché of the Cnidians at Delphi. Excellent as are the descriptions, one might almost say the catalogues, of Pausanias, they do not enable us to restore in imagination the pictures he treats of until we reinforce the information of the mind with appeals to sense, and vivify our knowledge by the comparison of extant fragments of painting or the finest designs of vases. If any reader doubts this assertion, he has but to study the attempts to restore the Delphic paintings of Polygnotus made before appeal was made to the testimony of vases.[1] We are now fortunately able to trace with confidence the influence of Polygnotus on some of the vases of the fifth century; and a comparison of these with the descriptions of Pausanias may be said to have given us a fairly satisfactory notion of the drawing and grouping, though not of the colouring, of the great Thasian master. In particular we can trace what kind of perspective he introduced into art, and what ways he had of telling a story or describing a situation. That is to say, we can recover his grammar, if not his poetry.

The Polygnotan perspective, simple and almost childish as it seems to us, really marks the parting of the ways between painting and relief, which had hitherto been frequently combined so as to be almost confused. Polygnotus attacked the problem of representing different sets of people, not in the same plane, but some farther off than others. He did not depict the farther figures on a smaller scale, nor did he (what indeed we could scarcely expect of an early artist working in the bright light of Greece) allow for the effect of atmosphere in making them less clearly visible. But two things he did: first he placed the more distant figures higher up in the field of the painting, and second, he represented the lines of the irregular hills of

[1] See the Vienna *Vorlegeblätter* for 1888, Pls. X.-XII.

the background, hills almost invariable in a Greek landscape, as passing up and down through the painting, and sometimes concealing parts of the farther figures. Professor Robert has skilfully reconstructed on such principles the *Iliupersis* and the *Nekuia* of Polygnotus.[1] A few vases of the middle of the fifth century seem arranged on exactly the same plan. One of these, representing the slaying by Apollo and Artemis of the children of Niobe,[2] on one side, and on the other the Argonautic heroes (Fig. 34), will show at once the character of the Polygnotan perspective. On the left of the larger group a figure in armour may be seen half hidden by the hill. Who he is we shall afterwards consider. At present I wish to observe that we are told that in Micon's painting in the stoa at Athens, one of the combatants named Butes was hidden behind a hill, all save his helmet and an eye; whence a proverb arose, "quicker painted than Butes." This shows how the laws of composition invented by great painters found their way on to vases.

Another prominent feature of Polygnotan art is the use of the method of allusion, alike in indicating personalities, defining situations, and telling stories. It is quite in the manner of Greek art, and especially of the great art of the fifth century, to define a character or tell a story not by direct representation, but by a gentle suggestion, which leads the mind on without compelling it. Thus we are told by Cicero that when Alcamenes, the pupil of Pheidias, represented the artisan-god, Hephaestus, he made his lameness appear in a slight and graceful way;[3] and it is just in accordance with this statement of Cicero that we find the lameness of the seated Hephaestus of the Parthenon frieze represented only by the manner in which

[1] Published at Halle, 1892, 93. The schemes are repeated in Frazer's *Pausanias*, Vol. V., pp. 360, 372.

[2] *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. X., p. 118.

[3] "Leviter apparet claudicatio non deformis." Cicero, *N. D.*, I., 30.

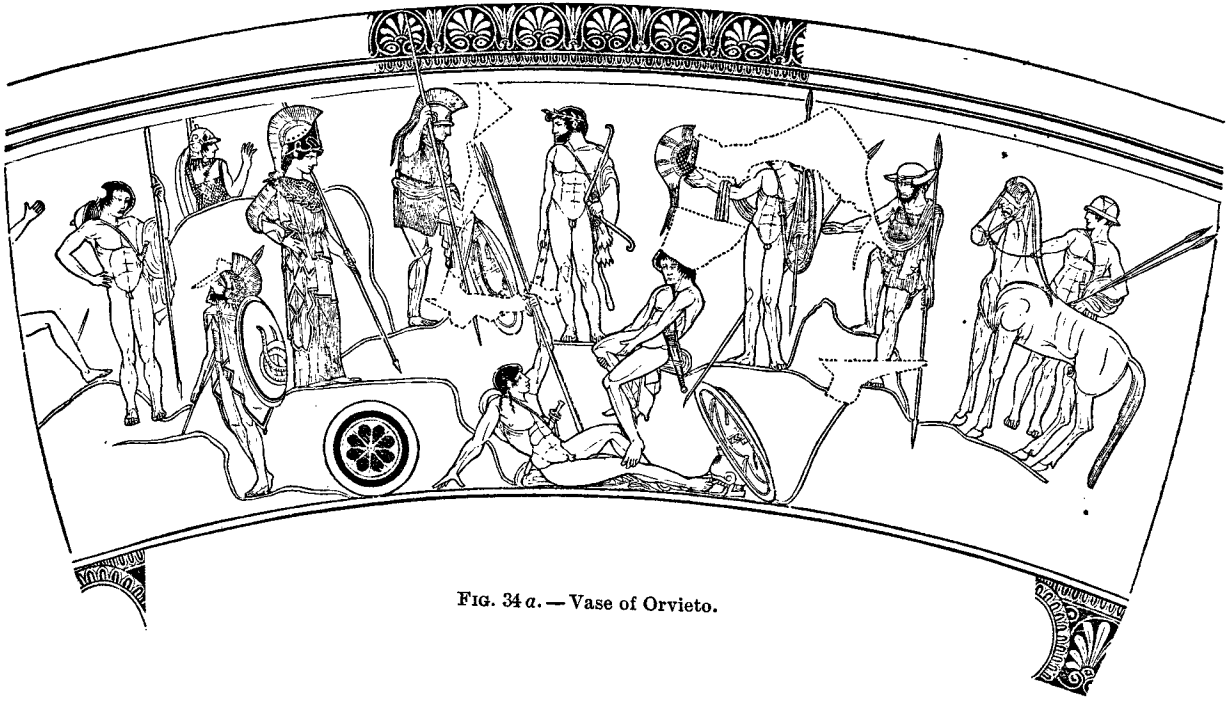


FIG. 34 *a*. — Vase of Orvieto.

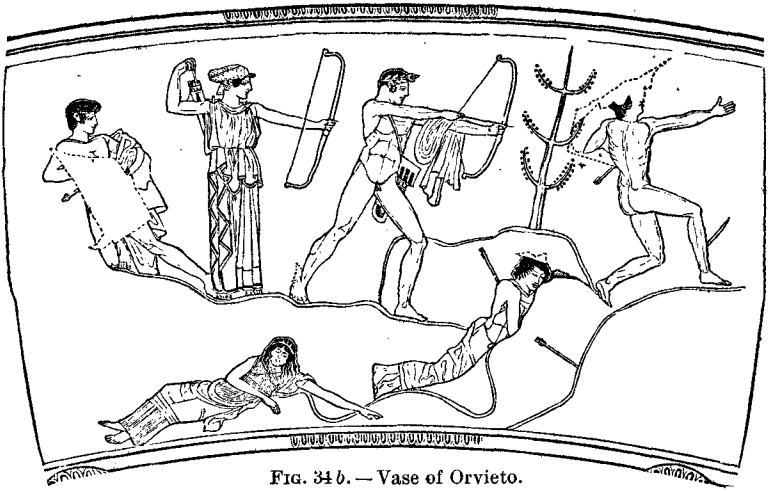


FIG. 34 *b*. — Vase of Orvieto.

the god leans on the handle of his mighty hammer, and by the awkwardness of his feet. The grave reliefs of the fifth and fourth centuries at Athens are full of suggestions of death given in this gentle manner; the head resting on the hand implies grief at separation, putting on the sandals means preparation for the last great journey, and so forth.[1] It seems, however, that the prevalence of this manner in Attic sculpture really comes from Polygnotus. For Pausanias, in his description of the Delphic paintings of Polygnotus, tells us that in the picture of Hades Eriphyle was represented with her hand to her neck, to signify that the necklace of Harmonia was fatal to her, since by it she had been bribed to betray her husband, and Phaedra was depicted in a swing, to hint at the manner of her suicide, which was by hanging. This gentle and graceful way seems to be of Ionian origin. In vases of the fine period it is very prevalent. We need take but one or two examples.

[1] See P. Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, pp. 152, 170, 176, etc.

In the vase-painting which represents the slaying of Rhesus and his Thracians by Diomedes and Odysseus (Fig. 75, p. 222) the Thracians are seen to be dead only by their constrained attitudes; the unpleasant marks of a violent death are omitted. In the Orvieto vase (Fig. 34), representing the Argonauts, it is possible to identify by hints most of the heroes, though their names are not inscribed. Tiphys, the elderly pilot, rests on a spear; Jason, in full armour, face to face with Herakles, stands near the middle of the picture; Castor and Pollux stand on the extreme right and left, one holding a horse, both distinguished by the fashion of their caps. We may also, I venture to think, recognize the figures of Theseus and Peirithous below, from the mere fact that they are seated, since it was their destiny to be fastened to a rock in Hades, and Polygnotus in his picture of Hades (followed in some of the vases which represent the under-world [1]) renders this fastening merely by making them sit on the rock. Virgil must have had such a representation in his mind when he wrote "Sedet aeternumque sedebit Infelix Theseus." So in the figure which is disappearing over the mountains we may with probability recognize Hylas, who strayed away from his companions and was carried off by the Naiad nymphs. We think of Hylas as an effeminate youth, in accordance with the poems of Ovid and Propertius and Pompeian paintings; but in the more manly art of the fifth century he would be represented, as he figured in early legend, as a hero, and one of the Argonauts. He was the friend of Herakles, as Patroclus was the friend of Achilles, without any detraction from his manliness.

On the other side of the vase, in the scene of the slaying of the Niobidae, we notice that a single tree, and that depicted in a summary way, represents the forests on Mount Sipylus. In just the same way, in Polygnotus' representation of Hades, a

[1] Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, art. "Unterwelt," Pl. 87.

single tree stood for the sacred grove of Persephone. Niobe herself does not appear on the vase — only three of her sons and one of her daughters, of which four figures two lie dead in the foreground, two fly to right and left.

Can we venture to see between the vase-paintings of this group and the works of the Polygnotan school a still closer connection? Is it possible to prove in any case that the vase-painting is a copy, or at all events a reminiscence, of the mural painting? The range of subjects is certainly the same: Micon painted the return of the Argonauts, and such subjects from the exploits of early heroes were common to fresco-painters and vase-painters. Many archaeologists have from time to time not unnaturally attempted to find on vases scenes and groups repeated from some of the great fresco-paintings of Athens and elsewhere. Dr. Klügmann, for example, in his excellent paper on the Amazons,[1] observes that about the middle of the fifth century a new set of vases comes in at Athens, whereof the subject is the battles between Theseus and his Athenians and the invading hosts of Amazons; and that these vases in common present certain features, such as that the Amazons are on horseback and the Greeks on foot, and that the women warriors are usually clad in the well-known dress of the Persian cavalry, familiar to the Athenians since Marathon. He is disposed to attribute the general character of the vases to the influence of the painter Micon, who at about that time painted in the Stoa Poikilé and in the Theseion at Athens fresco-paintings of the battles of Theseus and the Amazons. This suggestion it would certainly not be rash to accept. But when Klügmann goes farther, and proposes to find in some of the schemes and fighting groups reminiscences

[1] *Die Amazonen in der attischen Literatur und Kunst*, 1875.

of some of the figures of Micon, we feel that he is venturing on thin ice, because, as will abundantly appear hereafter, the customs of vase-painting were so definite and exclusive that it is far more likely that the artists would take details of treatment from one another and from tradition than from the new and bold schemes of a great and progressive fresco-painter. We are here on the borders of a very considerable question. What would seem to us more natural than that an Athenian vase-painter should copy groups of horsemen or chariots, or take poses from the sculptural decoration of the Parthenon? Yet scarcely more than two or three vases can be pointed out which appear to show traces of the influence of the workshop of Pheidias,[1] and only one or two show any close likeness to the pediments of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, or the reliefs of the temple of Athena Nike at Athens. And even in these cases the relationship is certainly not close, and may be disputed. There is perhaps more ground for finding in sculptured relief the influence of contemporary paintings. We are told that Pheidias worked at painting when young, and his brother Panaenus was a painter. Professor Benndorf has made out a good case for seeing in some of the reliefs of the tomb of Trysa[2] an echo of the paintings of Polygnotus and other Attic painters; but we cannot insist strongly on this line of influence, as its grounds are largely mixed with hypothesis and conjecture, in the absence of the paintings supposed to be copied.

Let us however return to the question of the relations of vase-paintings to great works in fresco. We may best bring this question to a definite issue by discussing a vase-painting which has by good authorities been thus connected.

[1] See Winter, *Jüngere attische Vasen*, p. 34.

[2] Benndorf, *Das Heroon von Gjöl Baschi Trysa, passim*. It is especially the introduction of perspective of a simple kind at Trysa (as on Pls. 12, 13) which appears to point to the influence of painting.

Pausanias thus describes a painting by Micon in the Anakeion at Athens:[1] "The painting on the third wall is not intelligible without interpretation, partly because it has suffered from time, partly because Micon did not put in the whole story. When Minos was bringing to Crete Theseus and the rest of the tribute of boys and girls, he fell in love with Periboea. And when Theseus was his chief hindrance, Minos cast against him angry reproaches, saying, among other things, that he was not the son of Poseidon, for he could not fetch back the ring which he himself was wearing, if he threw it into the sea. With these words Minos is said to have thrown down the ring, and Theseus [plunging after it] came back from the sea, bringing it and also a wreath of gold, the gift of Amphitrite."

The visit of Theseus to the court of Poseidon and Amphitrite beneath the waters of the Aegean Sea is spoken of in the recently discovered poem of Bacchylides, and it is the subject of some very beautiful vase-paintings. One of these is the well-known kylix of Euphronius,[2] on which Theseus as a boy is represented as being presented to Amphitrite by Athena. A vase-painting more important for our present purpose, and here repeated (Fig. 35),[3] is of a somewhat later date and of less simple grouping. On the left we see the stern of the ship, whence the fish-tailed monster Triton is bearing the young Theseus to the abode of Poseidon and Amphitrite. This abode is clearly constructed after the fashion of a Greek shrine. Poseidon reclines, like the father of a family, on a couch: Amphitrite, seated near him, holds her golden wreath.

[1] Pausanias, I., 17, 2.

[2] Repeatedly figured; see especially *Monuments grecs*, 1872, Pl. I.; Klein, *Euphronios*, p. 182; Harrison and Maccoll, *Greek Vase-paintings*, Pl. XIV.; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XVIII., Pl. 14; Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Pl. 5.

[3] *Mon. dell Inst.*, Suppl., Pl. XXI. Repeated in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XVIII., p. 277, whence our cut.

FIG. 35. — Vase of Bologna.

Eros pours wine from an amphora into a crater or mixing vessel; an oenochoe close by is ready to be dipped into the crater. Dedicated tripods stand near; a few trees and plants show that Poseidon has his groves as well as Persephone. Above, on the left, is the Sun-god rising from behind the hills in his chariot; above on the right are four female figures, one of whom holds a shield.

Whether these pictures are related to the literary versions of this early exploit of Theseus I shall consider in a later chapter (XIV.). At present I propose briefly to consider whether they are related to the picture of Micon. In the first place we may observe that the cup of Euphronius, and some other vases which bear representations of this tale,[1] are too early to be influenced by the picture in question; besides which their composition is altogether after the manner of vase-paintings. The supposition that Euphronius would be influenced by Micon belongs to a stage of knowledge which is now passed. But in the picture of the Bologna vase we may unhesitatingly trace the stylistic influence of the school of Polygnotus and Micon. It is apparent in the perspective of the picture; indeed, it is so faithfully followed, that the place of meeting of Theseus and Amphitrite, which is on the vase of Euphronius identified by the introduction of swimming fishes as the bottom of the sea, here becomes a country of hills and of groves. The introduction of the Sun-god into scenes, an introduction which was a noted feature of the art of Pheidias, was probably a Polygnotan innovation. And in the female figure most to the right, we seem to have an example of Polygnotan allusion. The woman holds a shield; and this suggests that she, as well as her companions, is a Nereid; Nereids on vases being commonly occupied in carrying the arms made by

[1] They are figured by Mr. Arthur Smith in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XVIII., pp. 276 and foll.

Hephaestus for their sister Thetis, and by them borne to the tent of Achilles.

Again, in the somewhat elaborate and variegated dress of the figures on the vase, we may trace a likeness to the style of the great Ionian painter, who adorned his women's hair with bright kerchiefs and gave them transparent robes. That even Triton should wear a chiton must almost certainly be a touch of Ionic art.

But though the vase-painting thus belongs to the cycle of the works of Polygnotus and Micon, yet it is anything but certain that it is an actual copy of the mural painting of Micon. In the first place, we do not know exactly how Micon treated this subject. Pausanias says that he told the story imperfectly, and this reproach could scarcely be brought against our vase-painting. And further, some of the details of the picture seem much more suitable to a vase design than to a mural painting. The treatment of Poseidon as a feaster, by no means unnatural to a vase-painter among whose commonest subjects were scenes of feasting, is scarcely worthy of a great painter like Micon, and the grouping of the upper line of human figures is so completely such as we are accustomed to in late Attic vases, that it is not easy to suppose for it in this case a dissimilar origin. If there be one feature which is likely to emanate from Micon, it is the group of Triton and young Theseus. On the vase of Euphronius Triton is minute, and is supporting the feet of Theseus; here he bears the youth in his arms, as in the sculpture of the fourth century Hermes carries the young Dionysus. But even on this point we cannot insist.

A definite proof of Polygnotan influence on vase-paintings is to be found in the use on some of them of Thasian dialectic forms. In the inscriptions such forms would scarcely be used save by artists belonging to the school of Polygnotus and

brought by him to Athens. One vase-painter of the middle of the fifth century even bears the name Polygnotus.[1]

Painting is a more complicated and expressive art than sculpture; we cannot, therefore, be surprised that its period of highest bloom is later. It does not appear that Greek painting ever reached a higher ethical level than it reached in the fifth century. But unquestionably the great painters of the next age — Zeuxis, Parrhasius, Timanthes, Apelles, and the rest — improved the technique of painting enormously, brought in a greater variety in colouring, developed perspective, and immensely increased the range of the art. Unfortunately, at this point we lose the evidence of vase-painting, which not only begins to decay, but is driven, so to speak, to despair by the increasing complexity of the great art of painting, of which it can give but the feeblest echo.

We are told that Polygnotus used but four colours — white, yellow, red, and black. But if this were the case, how could he be praised for the *mitrae versicolores* which adorned his women's heads? J. Lange[2] is almost certainly right in his view that it was in representing the nude human body that he confined himself to these colours. For alike in architecture, sculpture, and painting, green, blue, and brown were used long before the time of Polygnotus, and one cannot understand why he should have abstained, for instance, from using green for the representation of trees. But, doubtless, painters like Zeuxis and Apelles were much freer than he in their variety of colouring.

The colouring of Polygnotus must have been flat and uniform, without much light and shade. The full introduction of this enormously important element into painting was largely

[1] See Klein, *Vasen mit Meistersignaturen*, p. 199.

[2] *Die menschliche Gestalt in der Geschichte der Kunst*, p. 66. This is a work full of genial and interesting observations.

the work of the Athenian Apollodorus, who thus embarked on a great sea of discoveries. He is described as seeking after illusion in painting,—doubtless a very primitive illusion,—but the attempt was frowned on by some of the stricter spirits of the time, among others by Plato. Of light and shade in ancient painting we can judge only from the frescoes of the Roman age. Pausias, a contemporary of Apelles, is said to have greatly succeeded with perspective and foreshortening.

There are but two ways, neither of them quite satisfactory, by which we can approach the painting of the later fifth and fourth century masters. In the first place we can make the best of such fragmentary remains of paintings of this period as have come down to us; and in the second place we can feel our way back, with great caution, from the mural paintings of Rome and Pompeii to an earlier and nobler stage of art.

I will mention a few of the most important extant remains of the period. On the key-stone of a grave in the Crimea was found a painting of the head of Persephone, crowned with flowers.[1] As in the grave itself there was found a gold coin of Alexander the Great, the tomb can scarcely have been later than about 300 B.C. The painting represents a lady with dark brown hair and eyes. From the back of the head falls a red veil. In the ear is an earring, on the neck a pearl necklace, in the hand and on the head garlands of flowers. But this work, though interesting, is of course the production of a third-rate artist. At a somewhat higher level of art, and more easily accessible to an English student, are the paintings of the cele-

[1] Figured in the Russian *Comptes Rendus* for 1865 in the exact colours. The original has now faded. The colours are white, red, yellow, brown, green, and blue.

brated Amazon sarcophagus of Corneto,[1] which are indeed much injured, but in parts fairly clear, and which appear to be by a Greek artist of the second rank. In these paintings eight or nine colours are used. The expression of some of the heads is very striking; and the contrast between the sunburned bodies of the Greeks and the white forms of the women is remarkable. I shall content myself with giving in the text a single example of later fifth-century painting; but, in fact, it is not an example of painting, but only of drawing as a preparation for painting. In graves in the Crimea wooden sarcophagi have been found, to which were affixed plates of ivory, and other such plates were used to decorate lyres; they were originally painted with bright colours, and still retain incised outlines of the designs. One fragment is here figured[2] (Fig. 36), perhaps belonging to a lyre, and certainly preserving to us very charming drawings of a male and a female figure.

FIG. 36. — Ivory tablet, St. Petersburg.

Some marble tablets, found at Pompeii and exhibited in the Museum of Naples, bear designs sketched in red which bear the marks of an origin in the fifth and fourth centuries, and in the Museo delle Terme are many pictures from villas in the neighbourhood of Rome,[3] the character and composition of which

[1] Figured in colours in the plates (36–38) of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1883. The original is at Florence.

[2] From *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, Pl. 79, 1.

[3] *Mon. dell. Inst.*, XII., 21, 22, etc.

certainly go back to good Greek times. But such works as these can only inform us how decorative painters composed and drew small groups for the adornment of furniture and houses. They do not greatly add to the knowledge which we have already gained from such works as the grave-reliefs of Athens or the sarcophagi of Constantinople. What would especially interest us, if we could ascertain it, would be how Zeuxis and Apelles used colour, how they composed great paintings, and what amount of expression they put into their works.

As to colouring, we can scarcely expect ever to acquire much knowledge, for colour, when it does not disappear, so greatly changes with time that it gives a false impression. Probably the sarcophagus of Corneto and the Alexander sarcophagus of Constantinople will give us as good information as we are ever likely to acquire in this subject. It would seem that colour was not used in antiquity, as in modern art, in a thousand fine observations and delicate suggestions, but was always secondary to form, just as music was subordinate to poetry in songs. This is what we should have expected; for form is related to intellect, and colour to feeling and emotion. And Greek work, as known to us, is restrained on the emotional side; nor has it any touch of mysticism.

As regards composition, our information is very defective. We have no descriptions of great works by Parrhasius or Apelles in Pausanias, and the descriptions of paintings left us by such authors as Philostratus and writers of the Anthology have very little value. The greatest pictures of later Greece, such as the Helen of Zeuxis, the Theseus of Euphranor, the Demos of Parrhasius, the Alexander of Apelles, were single figures. It has been suggested that the well-known Pompeian painting which represents the sacrifice of Iphigeneia[1]

[1] *Museo Borbonico*, IV., 3. This engraving, which is stylistically quite worthless, is repeated by Baumeister and Roscher *s.v.* Iphigeneia.

is derived from a painting of much earlier time. Dr. Helbig observes in regard to it:[1] "The composition is regulated according to the rules of early and strict symmetry: around the central group" (which consists of Iphigeneia herself borne by two Greeks) "we find corresponding to one another, below, the figures of Calchas and Agamemnon; above, Artemis and a nymph. Any crossing of the lines of the figures is as far as possible avoided, so that but little modification would be needed before translating the group into relief. The figures who hold Iphigeneia are represented on a smaller scale than Calchas and Agamemnon, according to the ideal principle of early art, which expresses the importance of various figures by their dimensions. In the garments of the king, Calchas, and the supposed Diomedes, we see clearly the old style of treatment of folds." It has been suggested that this picture may go back to a work of Timanthes, who is said to have painted the subject, and to have represented Agamemnon (as here) with face veiled to hide his grief. But if Helbig's criticism is correct, as I hold it to be, it would point to an earlier stage of art than the time of Timanthes, who was a fourth-century artist.

One of the most striking of all ancient pictures is the Pompeian mosaic representing the charge of Alexander the Great at the battle of Issus. This admirable work would seem to be a copy of a painting made not long after the time of Alexander; and since it is in stone, it has preserved to our day all its colouring and its freshness. Its evidence is of the greatest value, in several respects. I engrave (Fig. 37), from a photograph, the central part, which represents the panic and flight of Darius and his charioteer; to the left are the charging Greeks, and in the foreground a young Persian trying to curb a terrified horse. Lange[2] seems to me to have rightly ex-

[1] *Wandgemälde Campaniens*, p. 283. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 112.

plained the motive. The attention of both Darius and the young knight in the foreground is concentrated on a young Persian on horseback who has just fallen before the lance of Alexander, who charges from the left. The fallen man is probably a son of Darius. The father cannot help, in spite of his flight, holding out a hand towards him. The knight in the foreground has dismounted to give him his own horse; but it is too late.

Lange considers the original of this mosaic to have been one of the very greatest pictures ever produced. I must not dwell on it longer. But it certainly serves to prove to us that the Greek painters of the fourth century were not afraid of attempting very complicated grouping, and were skilled in foreshortening. The reader may compare the figure of a Nereid, seen from behind. (Fig. 58, below.) And it indicates that they were very successful in that expression of emotion in the face of which Socrates discoursed to Parrhasius. It may indeed be suggested that the later copyist may have in these respects modified his original. But a comparison of the Alexander sarcophagus, a work which has a decided likeness to this mosaic, will prevent us from regarding the latter as in any essential respect a work of the Roman age.

It is more than probable that the influence of the great painters of Greece went on working during the Roman age, and that it affected not only the mural painters of the Italian cities, but even the artists of a still later class of monuments, the sarcophagi made under the Roman Empire for wealthy citizens. The subjects of many of these sarcophagi are taken from Greek myth, and the manner of composition of the reliefs is often rather that of painting than that of sculpture.[1] Of

[1] The sarcophagi with mythical subjects are collected by Professor Robert in the second and third volumes of the great German publication, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs.*

FIG. 37.—Pompeian mosaic.

these, as of the paintings of Pompeii, I cannot here treat; they offer far too complicated a subject, and one outside the limits which I have accepted.

On the whole, Greek painting through all its history must, so far as we can judge, have shown the same qualities as Greek sculpture. The technical difficulties of painting, which to the end the artists only partially surmounted, and the immense vogue of the art of sculpture, tended to make painting approximate to sculpture far more closely than it does in modern times. And this tendency fitted in naturally with the general character of Greek art, its idealism, its definiteness, and its intellectuality. The superior expressiveness and suggestiveness of painting were not fully appreciated in Greece: landscape-painting in particular was always crude and wanting in imagination. It was in the drawing of single figures, the arrangement of groups, in the expression of character and of pathos in human forms, attitudes, and faces that the Greek painter excelled. And in these respects even the paintings of Pompeii, which must not for a moment be regarded as examples of what Greece could do in the way of painting, have won very high praise from able modern critics.[1]

It would seem that the lead in the changing tendencies which mark the evolution of Greek art usually belonged to the painter, whose art was naturally freer, and less closely limited by the influence of the school. Cimon of Cleonae may be regarded as having put the last hand to archaic art, which has, even in modern days, great fascination; Polygnotus certainly acted as a forerunner of the great school of Pheidias; Parrhasius and Zeuxis introduced the pathetic tendency which passed on to

[1] See especially the remarks of J. Lange in the second volume of his *Menschliche Gestalt*.

Praxiteles. The painting of the Hellenistic age, to judge from Pompeii, must have in variety and expressiveness greatly surpassed the sculpture of that age. It is however remarkable that in portraiture the sculpture of later Greece excels beyond all comparison the superficial and vulgar works, mostly from Egyptian sarcophagi, which are almost all we possess in the way of painted Greek portraits. On the other hand, some of the little sketches of Pompeii show a lightness of hand and boldness which are impossible to workers in the heavy materials of clay and marble.

CHAPTER X

CLASSES OF VASES

ALTHOUGH the painting of vases is necessarily among the lower forms of art, a form seldom practised by men of high talent or originality, yet vases are an inestimable record of one side of Greek art. They cannot reproduce the colouring of Greek frescoes, nor the impression of their dignity and charm, but they show us the character of grouping and of drawing in Greek painting. They are first-hand documents, belonging to the best period of art; treating the same subjects as were treated by the great masters, and perhaps in a not dissimilar way. They are mostly from the workshops of Athens, and show some of the finer qualities of Attic work — simplicity, grace, and a wonderful appreciation of the beauty of the human form. And they are especially interesting as treating many of the themes of Greek mythology in an independent and yet not very dissimilar way from the poets.

Periods and Schools of Vases. — It is not intended here to give, even in outline, a history of Greek vase-painting. Than such a history nothing is more urgently needed for the teaching of archaeology. The student must be referred to Rayet et Collignon's *Céramique grecque* and the articles in Baumeister's *Denkmäler* and Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, which are the best summaries at present attainable. All that will be here

given is a statement of the principal classes of vases, with their countries and periods.

(1) *Mycenaean and pre-Mycenaean.* — The prehistoric record of Greece and Asia Minor has of late years been revealed, age beyond age, as far back as the Neolithic period. This record consists in great part of pottery, which can be assigned to the respective strata of civilization which preceded the historic age of Greece. Some of it is decoratively very beautiful, especially the so-called Kamareis ware. Such pottery, however, does not come within the scope of this work; first, because it is pre-Hellenic, or at all events separated by a deep chasm from the productions of historic Hellas; second, because it does not, if we except a very few vases of the later Mycenaean age, present to us any representations taken from human life. It is fair to say that the pretty Kamareis ware presents closer analogies to the art of Japan than to that of historic Greece: it can therefore give us no light on the subject we are investigating, the laws and the conventions of Greek art.

(2) *Geometric* (900–700 B.C.). — This is the ware which succeeds the Mycenaean in Greece. It is so called because geometric patterns are the kernel of its decoration, and even the figures of men and animals become on it little more than geometric figures. An example will show its general character (Fig. 38). This ware undoubtedly belongs to Greeks, to the semi-civilized races who had conquered the wealthy and luxurious Mycenaeans and succeeded to their dominions. It shows close analogies to the pottery and bronze work found in the north of Europe, and at such sites as Hallstadt, whether the style originally spread south from the Baltic, or north from the Mediterranean. Geometric vases, especially those from the early cemeteries of Athens, furnish us with some interesting transcripts from the daily life of the primitive Greeks, their warlike expeditions, and their burial customs; yet as to

real Greek style they give us very little light. They help us rather to trace the origins of Hellenic civilization than to forecast to what it would grow after ages of splendid development.

FIG. 38. — Geometric vase in Ashmolean Museum.

(3) *Early black-figured* (700–550 B.C.). — In the seventh century the rapid rise of Greek civilization began, and to keep pace with the civilization, the pottery of Greece emerged from its rude beginnings, and began to become distinctive. Receptive, as is often the case when a strong national movement takes place, the potters were quite ready to use and adopt whatever shapes of vases and decorative principles seemed worth adopting from the peoples round. Hence many Oriental motives — the palmette, the lotus, the lion, the griffin, the winged human figure — appear on Greek vases. These figures mostly appear ranged in horizontal bands, which run round the vases one above another, in a manner usual in the pottery and metal ware of the East. It is interesting to trace the process whereby the human form and tales of Greek mythology gradually make their way amid the animal and plant forms. A good example is a pyxis or box of Corinthian ware in the British Museum[1]

[1] Published by Mr. Cecil Smith in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, V., p. 176.

(Fig. 39) on the cover of which is depicted a procession of animals, and round it a procession of lions which is somewhat incongruously interrupted by a representation of Herakles discharging an arrow at the triple Geryon, whose oxen stand by in a group. When once the human element has made its appearance on these orientalizing vases, it soon expels the mere rows of animals fighting or walking in line, either to the neck

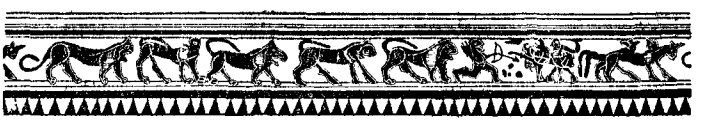


FIG. 39. — Archaic pyxis.

of the vase or to the place just above its foot. Thus almost from the first the Greeks subordinate the borrowed elements to the expression of their own ideas in accordance with their own artistic principles, and we see the style of which I speak under the next head gradually consolidating. Mythological groups and types become established, and artistic tradition arises. In this period there were active potteries in several of the Ionian cities of Asia, such as Miletus, Samos, and Cameirus in Rhodes; while, in Greece proper, Corinth, Chalcis in Euboea, and Athens seem to have surpassed other cities in the potter's art.

(4) *Later* (*Attic*) *black-figured* (550–480 B.C.). — By the middle of the sixth century, Athens seems to have gained the first place in the manufacture of vases, and to have developed a formed and consistent style. The principle of it was to varnish with black the handles, the feet, and the less important parts of a vase; but to reserve certain fields of square, oblong, or circular form, whereon to paint a scene from mythology, heroic story, or daily life. In this style the figures

were represented in silhouette — that is, with a wash of black paint, on which, for certain details, white or red were added. The flesh of women was commonly given in white, the hair and beards of men and parts of garments in red. The inner markings were made by a tool in the clay, the silhouette being cut through, and the red body of the vase showing. That we are now in the full current of Greek artistic activity is shown by the fact that many Attic black-figured vases bear the signatures of those who painted them, of such artists as Amasis, Exekias, and Nearchus. In fact, the vases of this class furnish us with a large number of interesting representations. And these well illustrate some of the fundamental artistic principles of Greece. But the primitiveness and monotony of the method of drawing, combined with the enormous demand set up by the Etruscan custom of burying Attic ware with their dead, caused the production of it to be usually hasty and conventional. Its abundance in our museums is perhaps a misfortune. At any rate, it was like the letting out of water when, towards the end of the sixth century, the red-figured method of vase-painting was introduced, though the black-figured method did not, for perhaps half a century, go out of use.

(5) *Red-figured (Attic); severe* (525–460 B.C.). — In this style the black silhouette was given up for outline figures drawn in black on the red surface of the vase, while the background was painted out in black varnish. The great advantage of the new process was that inner markings could henceforth, instead of being cut with a tool, be drawn with the pen or brush. Thus the formality of the design was greatly reduced, and a path toward freedom opened. What especially distinguishes red-figured vases from the first is the facility and beauty of the lines in which they are drawn. To speak of them as painted is barely correct; the designs are essentially linear drawings, and

as such they must be judged. It is in this fashion that the best known of the Attic vase-painters, Euphronius,[1] Brygus, Duris, and the rest worked: their favourite form was the kylix.

The interest attaching to Greek vases certainly centres in the early red-figured drawings. The reasons may be briefly stated: —

(α) They are works of Attic artists, of the stirring period of the Persian wars. The sculptural remains of Athens at this time, or at least at the time just after Salamis, are few, but it was as full of interest in the history of art as in political history. Attic taste, soon to give birth to works memorable forever, was rapidly forming under the influence of all that was most noteworthy in the art work of Greece and Asia, which found a focus at Athens. The stately conventions of the archaic period were giving way before the burst of fresh life and energy which was pouring into art under the enthusiasm of triumphant nationality. Decade by decade, almost year by year, Hellenic art was throwing off the limitations of its childhood, and becoming mature.

(β) The school is essentially a school of vase-painting, not merely of painting adapted to vases. The designs were composed with a view to vases, and thus have the intellectual charm which attaches to the study of artistic strivings devoted to rational ends. As a natural result, there is a remarkable freshness about these works. They are strictly architectonic in character, and yet they are perfectly full of the life of the day, representing not only myth, but the drinking-bout, athletics, fashionable life. They combine, so to speak, primness of manner with underlying naturalness, humour, delight in life.

(γ) These vases are very largely signed, and thus enable us to compare one with another the artists of the period. This

[1] On Euphronius Dr. W. Klein has written a valuable monograph. Lists of works of other painters are given in his *Vasen mit Meistersignaturen.*

gives a human, almost a personal, interest to them; we trace the influence of one vase-painter on another, and the variations of style in the works of one man. The vases also bear the names of the most celebrated beauties of the day, painted on them for fashion's sake — such names as Miltiades, Cleinias, Alcibiades, which are so familiar to lovers of Greece. Thus they help the imagination, and add a touch of reality to the narratives of Herodotus and Thucydides.

(6) *Red-figured (Attic); free* (460–400 B.C.). — Towards the middle of the fifth century the influence of the great Greek painters, Polygnotus, Micon, Panaenus the brother of Pheidias, and others, began to make itself felt in vase-painting.[1] This influence worked both for good and evil. The treatment of perspective improved, the human body was rendered with greater correctness and beauty, and more freedom from convention was introduced. But on the other hand, vase-painting, as such, drifted from its old moorings and took the first move in the direction of decline. The designs, though in some ways showing a greater mastery, are no longer so thoroughly adapted to the field for which they are designed, or the vase which they adorn. We no longer regard them as nearly perfect within narrowly fixed limits, but are disposed to look beyond them to the contemporary fresco works of which they are sometimes a reminiscence. But actual competition with these greater paintings was impossible; hence the vase-painter became less well satisfied with his work, which he no longer signs. He is no longer ambitious, but has sunk from an artist to a craftsman.

(7) *White-ground vases* (fifth century). — In this style, in place of drawing directly upon the red clay of the vase, the potter first covered its surface with a layer of fine white material. The importance of this difference in technique lies

[1] See Winter, *Die jüngeren Attischen Vasen;* also chapter IX. above.

in the fact that the process of vase-painting thus resembled far more closely that of fresco-painting; and fresco-painting, or painting on prepared wet plaster, was the usual procedure in the great art of Greece. As a natural consequence, the designs on white-ground vases are freer and less conventional than those on contemporary red-figured vases, and are not merely drawings but real paintings, the outlines being filled in with washes of colour — red, yellow, blue, and brown. In the early part of the century this technique was employed by some of the great Attic vase-painters, such as Euphronius and Duris, and was used for the kylix as well as the lekythos. Later it was almost confined to the lekythi specially made to be buried with the dead,[1] which have been preserved to us in great quantities in the cemeteries of Athens, Eretria, and Sicily (Fig. 40).

FIG. 40. — Lekythos from Athens.

These beautiful lekythi may well be compared with the reliefs of Attic tombs, which they closely resemble alike in sentiment and in their subjects, which are usually taken from the cultus of the dead at Athens.

(8) *Red-figured vases; late* (400–300 B.C). — A few of these appear to have been made at Athens; but the supremacy of the Athenian vases passed away after the failure of the expedition against Syracuse. Most of the late vases were made in lower Italy, especially at Tarentum. The degeneration in vase-designing which set in late in the fifth century proceeds rapidly in the fourth. Though some of the vases of lower Italy are

[1] As to these, see the work of Pottier, *Les lécythes blancs attiques*. Plate II. of that work represents a forgery.

conspicuous for size and elaboration, the designs are in style disappointing, showing softness, carelessness, and want of fixed principle. Some of them are however important on account of their subjects, and more especially in relation to the dramas of Euripides.

Forms.—Although the painted vases of our museums were made for decoration, not for use, since they are too fragile to

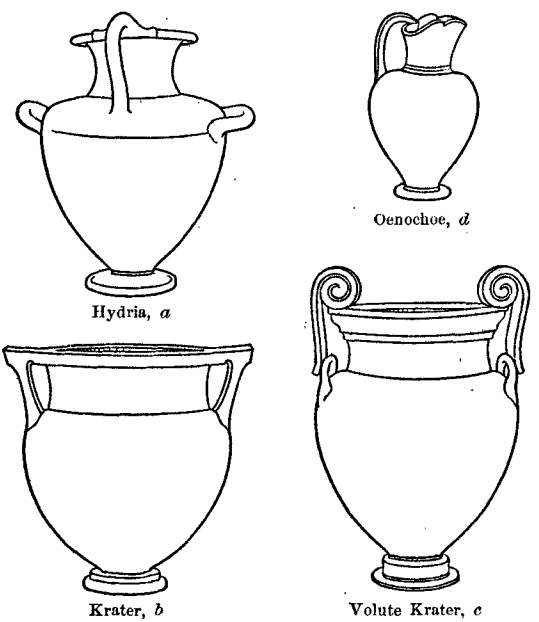


FIG. 41.—*a*, Hydria ; *b*, Krater ; *c*, Krater ; *d*, Oenochoe.

be easily handled, and too porous to contain liquid, yet in their forms they resemble the vessels of coarse earthenware or of precious metal which were used in the service of Greek houses.

Sometimes, indeed, the forms are evidently closely copied from metal prototypes. It is unnecessary here to detail all the forms used for painted vases, which are in number many hundred;[1] we need mention but a few typical examples; for our concern here is not so much with the potter's art, as with the more expressive and graphic manifestations of the Hellenic spirit. The chief classes of vases are the *amphora*, an ornate imitation of vessels for storing wine, the *krater* or mixing vessel (Fig. 41, *b*, *c*), the *hydria*, with three handles (Fig. 41, *a*), wherein water was fetched from the well, the *oenochoe* or wine-jug (Fig. 41, *d*), the *kylix* or drinking-vessel, the *lekythos* or oil-flask, the *pyxis* or

FIG. 42. — Kylix.

toilet vase, etc. For the purposes of the vase-painter the most important form was the kylix (Fig. 42), which allowed of a series of connected or complementary subjects. The two fields of the vessel on the outside offered two oblong spaces, the upper and lower lines of which were curved, so that each had a form not unlike that of a pediment, with the action culminating in the centre, while in the interior was a circular field, suited to a group of two or three figures.

In the case of the larger vases, such as the amphora and the krater, the field for the design is usually either oblong or square. In early vases we have commonly a series of narrow

[1] For engravings of forms, see the *Catalogue of Vases* in the British Museum, Vols. II., III., Introduction; also Furtwängler's *Catalogue of Vases* at Berlin, Heydemann's *Catalogue of Vases* at Naples, etc

bands running round; but as time goes on greater simplicity comes in, and in the best period a simple group which occupies a space roughly square or oblong is most usual (Fig. 43).

A noteworthy point in regard to Greek vases is that the scenes depicted on them have frequently a reference to the purpose of the vase. As the sepulchral lekythi already mentioned bear subjects taken from Greek burial custom, so there appear nuptial scenes on the vases used at marriages, and scenes from the lives of women on the pots which held their unguents. On the kylix appear many representations of the social life of Athens.

FIG. 43. — Amphora, Ashmolean Museum.

CHAPTER XI

VASES: SPACE, BALANCE, PERSPECTIVE

A Greek Vase as a Whole. — The form, the decoration, the designs, all go together, and are all worked out in relation one to the other. The form requires a certain arrangement of the linear decoration, the decoration suggests the form of the subjects to be drawn on the vase. And all these elements of the vase not only bear simple relations one to the other, but are in themselves simple.

But the vase which is a whole is made up of parts, each of which has a purpose in subordination to the purpose of the whole. The mouth in the oenochoe is made in trefoil shape for pouring, in an amphora wide to admit the ladle, in the crater wider still. The lekythos has but one handle, as it is used for oil, the amphora two, that it may be lifted with two hands, the hydria three, two for the lifting of the vessel and one whereby it may be held in place on the shoulder. The breadth of the foot is carefully proportioned to the diameter of the vase, so as to secure a reasonable stability. Handles, foot, and neck, it may be added, were usually made apart, and joined on to the trunk of the vase when shaped, but of course before baking.

Some of the strict rational laws of decoration which we found to be potent in architecture hold in the case of vases also. Here also the parts which bear the most strain are the least adorned, and such decoration as they bear follows the line of

strain. The handles, liable to constant friction, are usually not decorated; the neck, if long, is sometimes adorned in linear fashion, as is a column with flutings. In black-figured vases there is a circle of rays springing upward from the foot, but later this is given up. The design on red-figured vases is commonly bounded above and below by a band of maeanders or other simple pattern, a band which not only frames the design, but seems to hold the vase together. When the shoulder of a vase is broad, it sometimes bears a subject; but this is subordinate to the principal subject, which occupies the main field of the vase. When the shoulder is narrow, as in lekythi, it only bears a pattern. Elaborate palmette patterns often adorn the parts whence the handles spring, and serve to separate the obverse from the reverse design.

As the forms of vases are fairly constant, so the decoration changes but slowly, and persists over long periods of time. Each class of vase preserves its own kind of decoration.

After speaking of the forms of vases it would be natural, before coming to the painted scenes, to treat of the elements of their linear decoration. This is a matter which greatly interests all real students of vases. Not only is it a marvel to see how out of a few simple forms — the maeander, the lotus, the palmette — the vase-painter contrives a considerable variety of graceful borders and designs to fill blank spaces, but also the details of the decoration of a vase are among the surest indications of its date and the place where it was produced. The reasons why the subject is not here discussed are that it is too detailed, and too intimately connected with the whole history of vase-painting. It would also require an impossible number of illustrations.[1]

[1] A good, though not very recent, book on the subject of the decoration of vases is Lau's *Die griechischen Vasen*, with the text by Brunn and Krell.

Conditions of Space. — In examining the designs on a vase, the first thing to consider is the conditions of space. After the very early period, the field on a vase reserved for the designs was clearly marked out, and often bounded by lines of maeanders or other ornament. The ordinary forms of the field

FIG. 44. — Vase from Rhodes.

are oblong, square, or round. In the case of the kylix, as we have seen (Fig. 42), the peculiar shape of the designs on the exterior gives them a character approaching that of the pediment. The square field, if simply treated, will resemble that of the metope, and long spaces of small height will naturally

lend themselves to continuous scenes such as those which we find in the friezes of temples. Thus all the kinds of decorative sculpture which belong to Greek temples may be said to have parallels in vase-painting.

In the vases of the early classes there is conspicuous what has been called a *horror vacui* on the part of the designer. He has a strong objection to allowing any part of the field of a vase to remain undecorated. For this reason, probably, the whole surface is covered with bands of animals, or processions of monsters superimposed one above the other. The *horror vacui* may take a very simple and naïve form. The spaces in the designs which adorn early Ionian or Corinthian vases are filled up with little geometric patterns or rosettes (Fig. 44).

FIG. 45. — Cyrenaic vase.

In the somewhat more developed works of early black-figured classes, the subjects of which are chariot-groups or simple groups of human figures, flying birds, hares, dogs, and other animals are often introduced for the same purpose, and without reference to the subject portrayed. As an example I figure a kylix of the Cyrenaic class (Fig. 45), on which is represented a hero slaying a serpent in front of a temple, while flying birds, a hare, and a serpent fill up the field.[1]

[1] *Arch. Zeitung*, 1882, Pl. XII., 2.

Another good example will be found in the owl beneath Hermes in Fig. 81.

Afterwards one may find a survival of the same principle in the skill with which the attitudes and positions of figures are so contrived that they fit one into the other, and so occupy the space that no blank meets the eye. A better example could

FIG. 46. — Vase by Hiero.

scarcely be found than a vase-painting of Hiero (Fig. 46), representing a dance of maenads,[1] where we have a very beautiful composition perfectly adapted to the space at the disposal of the artist. It will be observed how the thyrsus of one maenad, and the fawn carried by another, fit into spaces of the background; and indeed every figure is planned with direct reference to its neighbours.

[1] *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, A., Pl. 4.

A good deal of what has above been said as to the general characteristics of early art, the law of frontality, and the like, applies quite as much to vases as to the sculpture from which most of our examples were taken; though it is natural, seeing how much easier the brush is to wield than the chisel, that we find transgressions of these unwritten laws of early art more often on vases.

Dr. Löwy formulates the following seven rules as applying to Greek drawing and painting in the archaic age,[1] rules based on the psychologic facts already mentioned (chapter V.).

(1) The shapes and attitudes of figures and parts of figures are limited to a few typical forms.

(2) These forms are stylized, that is, made into linear schemes either regular or approaching regularity.

(3) The representation of forms depends on the outline, whether this be a linear contour, or made into a silhouette by a filling of even colour.

(4) When colour is used, it is uniform, without introducing degrees of light and shade.

(5) The figures generally offer themselves to the spectator in their broadest aspect in every part.

(6) In a composition, the figures, with a few exceptions, succeed one another in a series, avoiding overlapping or intersection in important parts; thus the nearer and further is represented by an arrangement side by side.

(7) Representation of the place where a scene is enacted is omitted or almost omitted.

The reader can test the correctness of these views, which must on the whole be conceded, by examining any series of archaic vase-paintings. The first five have perhaps been sufficiently considered at the beginning of chapter V. As regards (6) our illustrations abundantly prove that it holds even to the

[1] *Die Naturwiedergabe*, pp. 3-9.

end of vase-painting. (See Fig. 79.) Occasional exceptions, however, may be found, as Fig. 54. Place is, as we shall see in chapter XII., indicated on later vases, but in a summary way.

Balance and Symmetry. — I have spoken of these already in relation to Greek sculpture, and the principles already established apply to the figures painted on vases as well as to those executed in bronze and marble. Greek art is statuesque throughout, or at least seems so to a modern eye, used to the bold attempts and endless experiments of modern painting. But the working of the principles in the particular field of Greek vases requires further explanation.

This subject has been ably dealt with by Professor Brunn in a series of remarkable papers.[1] He traces in sculpture and in vase-paintings the working of that principle of balance and measure which runs through the whole of Greek poetry, philosophy, and art. He writes as follows: —

"The tectonic principle is one of the most important factors in Greek art, in the earliest time perhaps even *the* most important. It prevails in the oldest works of art, the geometric vase-paintings, the shields of Homer and Hesiod, etc., and if it be true that the earliest decorative art of Greece shows less clumsiness, laxity, and inconsistency than that of other peoples, the reason is that from the beginning onwards it rests on this principle and abides by it as it presses toward greater and greater freedom."

A similar phenomenon meets us in poetry and literature. Rules and traditions, when not carried to the length of formalism, serve not so much to fetter the artist as to give suggestions to him, and to offer him a fair opportunity for the exercise of his talent. Critics sometimes speak of the fatal

[1] *Ueber tektonischen Styl in griech. Plastik und Malerei;* Proceedings of the Bavarian Academy, 1883 and 1884.

facility of blank verse, and this facility often drives it in the direction of flatness or in that of over-elaboration. On the other hand the intricate symmetry of the sonnet is probably the condition which has prompted many really poetic thoughts.

As striking examples of the prevalence of the architectonic principle, Brunn cites the Melian terra-cottas, one of which, representing the slaying of the Chimaera by Bellerophon, is

FIG. 47. — Melian terra-cotta.

here given (Fig. 47).[1] It is obvious how the whole group is balanced in the manner of a geometrical figure, much, indeed, like the Greek Ξ. In another of the Melian groups, that of Perseus on horseback, carrying the head of Medusa, whose headless body is beneath the horse, we have a somewhat different scheme, ‡; in fact, this tendency to schemes is universal. Of course in the case of a terra-cotta figure, formed in a mould, there are external and obvious reasons for close and methodical

[1] Millingen, *Anc. Unedited Monuments*, II., Pl. 3.

packing of the group; but the same principle prevails in vase-painting; the lines of a vase exercise on the artist the same kind of influence as the practical necessities of the mould; an inner law takes the place of external pressure.

Turning to vase-paintings, we may first note a point on which Brunn specially insists, that vase-paintings stand in a definite relation, not only to the spaces which they are to occupy, but also to the shapes of the vessels which they are to decorate. The line of gravity of the figures is also the line of gravity of the vases; the vase is as it were the

FIG. 48. — Nolan amphora.

FIG. 49. — Lekythos.

frame of the picture. This is especially clear when the subject is a simple one, as on the little amphorae found at Nola, and so called Nolan, though they are no doubt of Attic fabric (Fig. 48), and on lekythi (Fig. 49).

The relations to the space to be occupied are, however, more important. We begin with a simple design adapted to an oblong space (Fig. 50). The youth here depicted is carefully balanced about a line passing from the head between the feet. If he were in profile, this could be less perfectly accomplished, since the front of him would, so to speak, outweigh the back. But by turning the face in one direction and the foot in another, and placing one arm in each half, more perfect balance is secured. In the same way, when winged figures are introduced, one wing is pointed forward and one backward, from a feeling that the two wings together would overbalance a figure. (See Fig. 12.) Next we may take a design adapted to a circular field (Fig. 51). It would well suit a square field, yet placed where it is it seems ready

FIG. 50. — From a vase, Ashmolean Museum.

to revolve round its centre: we feel the motion as well as the

FIG. 51. — From a kylix.

direction of face and limbs to be specially suitable. Another skilful adaptation to a circular field may be observed on a vase of Epictetus in the British Museum[1] (Fig. 52).

FIG. 52. — Kylix by Epictetus.

In vase-paintings which contain more than one figure we may trace from early times the same careful balancing. With the vase last cited one may compare another kylix, from the same pottery, where two figures are carefully interlaced (Fig. 53).[2]

[1] *British Museum Catalogue of Vases*, III., Pl. VI., 1. [2] *Ibid.*, Pl. VI., 2.

Little more than heraldic is the grouping of human-headed birds and panthers on a vase of the Ashmolean Museum (Fig. 54). When human figures are introduced, this mechanical balance is naturally modified by the action and purpose of the group. An example is given from a vase (Fig. 55) at Munich,[1] where we may note two points: (1) Sword

FIG. 53. — Kylix by Epictetus.

FIG. 54. — Vase in the Ashmolean Museum.

and helmet form a pivot, on either side of which is a figure carefully balanced; (2) these two figures follow the lines of the neck of the vase. Not only is the whole space used, but the lines of gravity accord with the form of the vase.

In a three-figure design, the midmost of the three figures is often balanced about its centre in the same way as a single figure, and the two flanking figures are turned toward it (Fig. 59). In a four-figure design the two midmost figures commonly

[1] Lau, Pl. XXIV., 2.

form a group. As an example, we may cite a vase in the Ashmolean Museum (Fig. 56), where in the midst is Dionysus and an attendant satyr, forming a group which is on each side flanked by a maenad turned toward it.

More elaborate schemes by more skilful composers, where group balances group rather than figure figure, and where male

FIG. 55. — Vase at Munich.

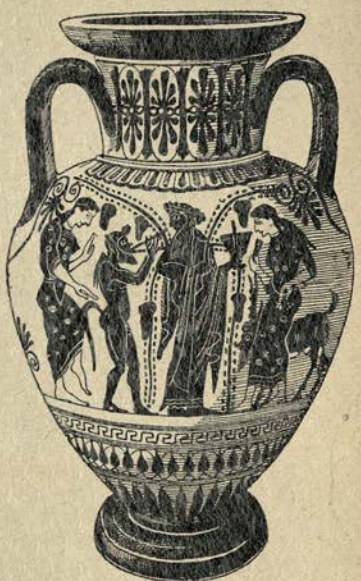


FIG. 56. — Vase in Ashmolean Museum.

and female forms are used in contrasted poses, may be abundantly found on vases. We have the same development in sculpture, from the rigid symmetry of the Aeginetan pediments to the thoughtful balance of those of the Parthenon.

It requires a careful observation to trace, in the elaborate designs of the more accomplished vase-painters, the way in which a careful balance is preserved, and yet is not allowed to

degenerate into uniformity and insipidity. Good examples will be found below in Figs. 66, 72, 74, etc. Alike in filling up the spaces of the background, and in furthering the rhythm of the design, great use is made of drapery. I purposely say drapery rather than dress, drapery being dress treated rather in reference to a design than in reference to the wearer. In the best Greek vases both of these considerations are taken into account.

We may next consider the relations of the paintings on a vase to one another. Vases of the larger kinds, amphorae in particular, have usually what may well be called an obverse and a reverse, two groups on the front and the back of the vase, corresponding to and balancing one another. These vases show not unfrequently some continuation or correspondence of subject in the two designs. For example, on a vase of the class called Nolan, because commonly found at Nola, though of Attic fabric (Fig. 57), which is now in the Ashmolean Museum,[1] we see on one side the goddess Eos, the Dawn, who fell in love with Tithonus, and Tithonus on the other. On another vase of the same class we see Hector on one side and Andromache, with the child Astyanax, on the other. However, more commonly by far the main design is depicted on one side, while the other is occupied by a mere decorative figure or group without much meaning. It is clear that these vessels were exhibited in such a way that only one side of them was usually seen. In the case of the hydria, the oenochoe, and the lekythos, where one side of the vase was occupied by the handle, one side only was used for a painted scene.

The painter of the kylix, who has two larger and one smaller space at his disposal, has a specially good opportunity

[1] *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XIII., p. 137. [2] *Ibid.*, IX., p. 11.

of depicting successive scenes from one story, and sometimes he takes the opportunity. For example, on a kylix in the British Museum,[1] we find depicted on the outside six of the adventures of Theseus, arranged in two groups, and in the middle of the interior a seventh adventure, that with the Mino-

FIG. 57. — Eos and Tithonus.

taur. Again, on the Troilus vase of Euphronius[2] we see on one side Achilles seizing Troilus, on the other the Trojans arming, while in the interior we have depicted the slaying of Troilus at the altar of Apollo. Such a planning is, however, unusual, and almost peculiar to the best class of painters. More commonly, as in the François vase, the chest of Kyp-

[1] *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1881, Pl. 10.

[2] Klein, *Euphronios*, p. 213; Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, Pl. 225.

selus, and other archaic works, the artist seems to pluck almost at random the ripe fruit of the tree of mythology, and the subjects which balance or adjoin one another have no relation one to the other. It is often tempting, in explaining a beautiful vase, to try to trace some motive of the artist in putting together the particular scenes which he has selected, what Brunn called a poetical relation, or connection of ideas; but usually it is a lost labour, for the subjective feeling too much leads our judgment, and we know by long experience how differently the mind of an ancient artist worked from that of a modern painter. Unless, therefore, the connection between one scene of a vase and another is obvious, it is better to be somewhat sceptical in allowing it.[1]

Perspective in Greek vases is a matter which may be dealt with briefly. In the earlier classes of ware, balance takes the place of perspective. Figures are placed so as to correspond one to the other all in the same plane, or are grouped together in schemes — the wrestling scheme, Herakles and the lion, and the like. Even when greater skill became usual, towards the middle of the fifth century, the vase-painters thought, and rightly thought, that figures much foreshortened, or distorted, or arranged among themselves in any fashion at all complicated, were not suitable to the architectonic conditions of their art. Occasionally, however, we find on vases bolder poses, as in the negro's head above cited (Fig. 32). In some classes of red-figured vases, especially those of Duris the vase-painter, bold experiments are tried, like those reported of Cimon of Cleonae; but they are unusual. I figure (Fig. 58) a notable example of foreshortening from a vase from Rhodes in the British Museum. The representation is of a Nereid nymph,

[1] This matter is discussed by Brunn in his *Troische Miscellen*, Part III., and by Robert in *Bild und Lied*, p. 97.

FIG. 58. — From a vase in the British Museum.

who flies in terror when Peleus seizes her sister Thetis, and in so doing turns her back to the spectator.

Generally speaking, as in other branches of art, so in this, it was in accordance with the artistic instinct of the Greeks willingly to abide by the limitations set them by the fixed rules of tradition. To the end of Greek history epic poets wrote in the Homeric dialect, and dramatists never transgressed the limits set by the mask and the cothurnus of Aeschylus. It is precisely this perfection by law and within limits that is the secret of Greek art.

Yet when, in the days of Polygnotus, a definite scheme of quasi-perspective was introduced into fresco-painting, some echoes of it made their way into the painting of vases. It would seem that until the age of Polygnotus painting had been but slightly differentiated from relief. Among the few remains of painting of an earlier time than about 460 B.C. which have come down to us, there is none which could not at once and without difficulty be executed as a relief. And reliefs, as is well known, largely depended for their effect on the colours with which they were covered. It was, as I have already shown, probably Polygnotus and the painters contemporary with him who began with tentative steps to move in the direction of a distinctive and innovating art of painting. The Polygnotan perspective passed from mural paintings to vases, such as that of Orvieto (Fig. 34), and that which represents the exploit of Theseus (Fig. 35), together with some other ways of art, such as telling a story by allusion. (See above, p. 133.)

Few vase-paintings are more masterly than those of the class just mentioned. Yet the old bottles could not contain the new wine, but in time were shattered by it. Even Polygnotan perspective was scarcely to be reconciled with the strict architectonic rules under which Greek vase-painting had

been formed. The relations of the scene depicted to the form of the vase, and even to the shape of the space to be occupied, were fatally interfered with. And on the other hand, the very conditions of vase-painting did not allow it to follow the rapid technical progress which took place in fresco-painting. The gap between the greater and the lesser form of art constantly increased, the calling of the vase-painter became more and more one of routine and mere manufacture, and his designs lost all the force and manliness which had marked them in an earlier age.

In drawing, indeed, and in the expression of the faces, he shows more skill, but he no longer tells his story with clearness and force. The vases of Lower Italy show an exaggeration of the Polygnotan scheme, wherein the figures of gods and men are grouped in two or three lines about a central point or group, without serious order or method. The truth of these assertions will be enforced later on, when we come to deal with the rendering of myths.

CHAPTER XII

VASES: ARTISTIC TRADITION

THUS far we have dealt with the spatial aspects of vase-paintings; we have next to speak of their schemes and their relations to myth or tale, reserving to the next chapter their relations to Greek literature. In their attempts, then, to embody a myth in a drawing, the vase-painters were subject to certain tendencies which belonged in a special manner to their craft, and which may fairly be regarded as principles of the grammar of vase-painting.

The Greek vase-painter in all periods works in schemes. He does not freely invent a new embodiment for a tale or a myth. He is dependent on the manner in which that tale had been represented in earlier art. He must satisfy the eye as well as the mind. But, on the other hand, though he accepts and repeats a scheme embodying artistic tradition, he does not, unless he be a mere workman and no artist, accept the scheme in a slavish way. He alters poses and details, omits figures, or introduces fresh ones; sometimes he merely improves the lines of the composition. Here, as in every field of Greek activity, we find infinite variety of detail within limits cheerfully accepted by the poet or artist. An exceptional poet or artist pushes back the limits; a conventional spirit keeps far within the bounds.

The Use of Fixed Schemes. — In tracing back any representations of myths of the gods or of heroic legends, we often find the

kernel of them in some simple scheme, which is usually of great antiquity, and sometimes indeed is borrowed from the art of other nations. Commonly it is a sort of symbol, which expresses in the briefest and least involved way the essence of the tale. As examples we may take the labours of Herakles, each of which is represented in one or more schemes which persist through the history of Greek art. In his contest with the lion Heracles grapples with and strangles the beast, which

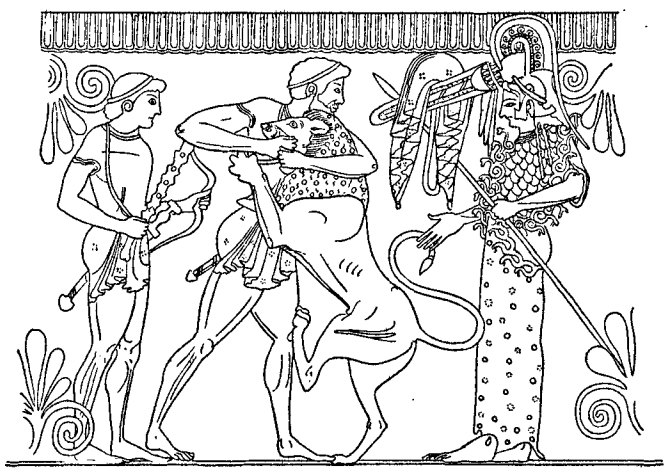


FIG. 59. — Vase in the British Museum.

attempts to tear him with its claws; thus we get a scheme like that of wrestling (Fig. 59).[1] This scheme I have already cited as an excellent example of balance and space-filling.

In seizing Triton he stands across the back and knots his hands round the neck; here again we have a scheme derived from wrestling or the pancratium[2] (Fig. 60). Nereus stands by as a spectator or umpire.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases*, Vol. II., p. 13.
[2] *Ibid.*, II., p. 21.

These are simple groups: the victory of Herakles needed not to be enforced; he was ever invincible; and so what most needed portrayal was the contrasted and interlaced form of man and beast, a conjunction which made the centaur so favourite a subject with Hellenic artists. In the case of another labour, the bringing back of the boar of Erymanthus, so simple a scheme would not suffice: the reception by

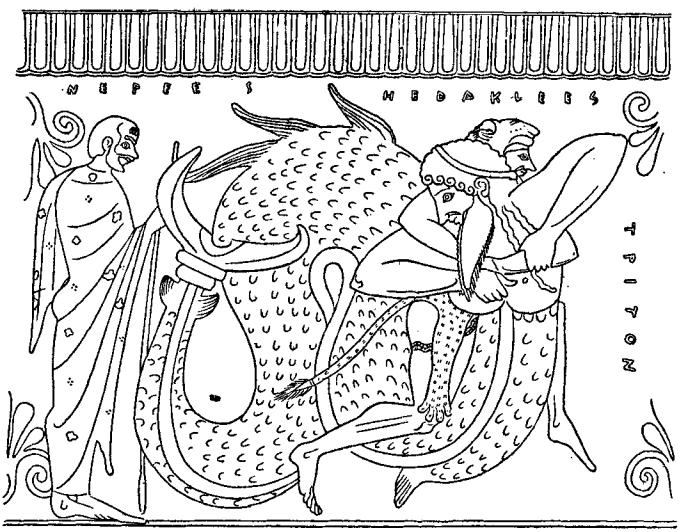


FIG. 60. — Vase in the British Museum.

Eurystheus and the comic terror which made him take refuge in a great earthen cask into which Herakles throws the boar needed special portrayal; the scheme here therefore contains at least three figures[1] (Fig. 61). In our vase there are five, Athena on one side balancing Iolaus on the other.

The exploits of Theseus also are represented in a series of

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases*, Vol. II., p. 15. There is here, as often is the case when Herakles is introduced, a touch of humour.

schemes; but these are not identical with the Heraklean series, for Theseus was a skilful wrestler and warrior, and won his victories not by brute force but by athletic address and use of the sword. So he does not crush the Minotaur with bare hands, but pulls him down and then uses the sword (Fig. 62).

Otto Jahn has well observed that there is a parallelism between the use of fixed schemes in painting and the use of fixed epithets in the epic. To Homer all the Achaeans have

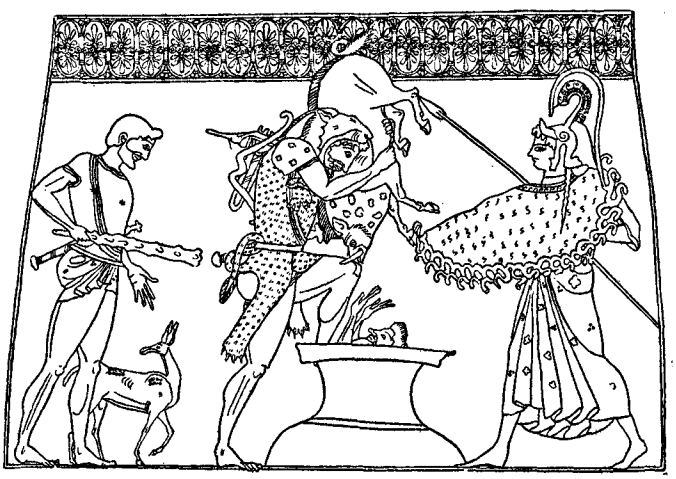


FIG. 61. — Vase in the British Museum.

flowing locks, the Trojans are tamers of horses; the wine is always dark, all the women beautiful, and all the chiefs fair-haired. Homer does not tire of introducing speeches with the formula, "To him replying, the other spake," or, so-and-so uttered winged words, or of finishing a feast with the formula, "When they had put from them the desire of meat and drink." And in the Homeric similes we find the lion constantly appearing in slightly varied connections and actions, just as the

riders of the Parthenon frieze or the fighting groups of the Mausoleum are slightly varied one from another.

In the more ordinary sorts of Greek vases, and even to some degree in all sorts, the scheme plays a great part. There are several regular fighting schemes. In the simplest, one warrior has fallen wounded on his knee, while the victor advances on him to deal the final blow (Fig. 74); or two warriors meet in

FIG. 62. — Vase in the Ashmolean Museum.

even strife over the body of a fallen comrade. Friends and supporters can be added on either side, as space may require. It is common to pair a Greek hoplite, armed with spear and shield, with a bowman who wears the dress of the Scythian archers of Athens, figures quite familiar to the potters. Some of the troops may be in chariots, some upon horseback; but in the common arrangement it is the hoplites who actually meet in strife. In such groups it matters little what names are

appended to the fighting heroes. Often the vase-painter writes beside them the names of Homeric worthies — Diomedes, or Ajax, or Aeneas, or Hector. But unless there is added some feature which betokens the intention to record a particular combat, these names are otiose, and might be indefinitely varied. Then, there is the scheme of the parting cup, a warrior in armour receiving a draught of wine from the hands of a lady, and such a group may stand for the parting between any hero of myth and his wife or mother. Another scheme is that of the leading away of a captive woman (Fig. 72); in which case one warrior precedes the captive, leading her by the hand, another follows, sometimes looking back to guard against pursuit. This scheme may be introduced where the seduction of Helen by Paris, the leading away of Briseis, the recovery at Troy of Aethra by her grandsons, Demophon and Acamas, or any other such scene is portrayed.

To these simple groups the addition of two or three figures, distinguished either by inscribed names or by some other mark, gives definite meaning. For example, Pausanias in his description of the devices carved on the chest of Kypselus (seventh century B.C.) writes of one group, "Achilles and Memnon are fighting; and by them stand their mothers." The mothers, indeed, of these two heroes were both more than mortal, Thetis and Eos, the Dawn. When, therefore, we find two female figures flanking a pair of combatants, we commonly suppose that the latter are Achilles and Memnon. And when we find in the same flanking position, on either side of a pair of combatants, Apollo and Athena, we are justified in supposing that the warrior supported by Athena is Achilles, and his opponent Hector, beloved by Apollo. It will be remembered how Homer, when he narrates the final and fateful combat of these two champions, places in the background the rival partialities of their divine patrons.

The ordinary vase-painter was contented to produce simple schemes; and the names by the introduction of which he gives a meaning to his work are often introduced somewhat inappropriately. And yet, when one comes to reflect, one sees that the very introduction of names is a testimony to the incurable optimism and idealism of the Greek artist. He is like the unspoiled child to whom a four-roomed doll-house is a palace. He is like Homer, all of whose women are beautiful, and almost all of whose men are brave. He sees in the most ordinary schemes of figures something not quite common, some hint at the ideal tales of the old epic.

It will be observed how closely all this agrees with the account of early Greek art already given in chapter V. The typical vase-painting is a mental construction. The artist reproduces from memory a scheme familiar to him, with any variations which may suggest themselves to him at the moment. He gives the scene a more exact meaning, either by adding inscriptions, or by inserting some more definite details or some extra persons. Place and time he usually disregards. The beauty of the design (for beauty is seldom wholly absent) comes from what is Greek in it — the simplicity and directness, the admirable proportion and balance, the keen sense of the charm of the human form in every pose and every connection. The ordinary vases which fill our museums were mostly made for export to Italy or Sicily. If made by any workmen except Greek, they would be unworthy of careful attention; but art belongs so preëminently to Greece that the meanest works produced in that country have importance. But artists of a better class also worked on vases, and when we reach their works we mount at once to a higher level, and it becomes worth while to examine them with care, that we may trace in

them the further working of the Greek artistic spirit. We pass in them from the mere scheme to a composition showing purpose and thought.

How the vase-painter proceeded in embodying in art a story or myth has been well set forth by Professor Carl Robert in his very useful work *Bild und Lied.* I cannot in all points agree with him; but he has done excellent work in cutting a path through a forest which had before his time only been traversed by narrow tracks.

There are some myths which can be represented in painting by a very few figures; others which require a far larger number. It is natural that the choice of the artist between the two kinds should have been largely determined by the nature of his field: in a square field only a few figures could be introduced, in a long narrow space more would be necessary. But besides the external compulsion thus exercised, an artist of greater powers and more inventiveness would naturally take a more complicated subject.

It is characteristic of the vase-painter of the sixth century and earlier that, just as he objects to leaving any part of his vase without decoration, so he will tell in his design as much of the story as he can. In doing this he disregards the unities of time and place in the most reckless manner. He "sows not with the hand, but with the basket." Herein, indeed, he only follows the course which is most natural and usual in the early ages of art, and which is as conspicuous in the work of the sculptors of Gothic cathedrals and the illuminations of early manuscripts as it is in primitive Hellas.

We will give one or two simple examples, which may be taken indiscriminately from early vases or early bronze reliefs, since the principles of arrangement are much the same in both kinds of ware. On a black-figured plate at Athens there

is represented the arming of Achilles (Fig. 63).[1] Before him stands his mother Thetis, while the group is flanked on one side by his father Peleus, on the other by his young son Neoptolemus. The painter, by carefully adding the names, has tried to prevent all possible misinterpretation. The group he has put together is not a possible one, since Achilles' fighting

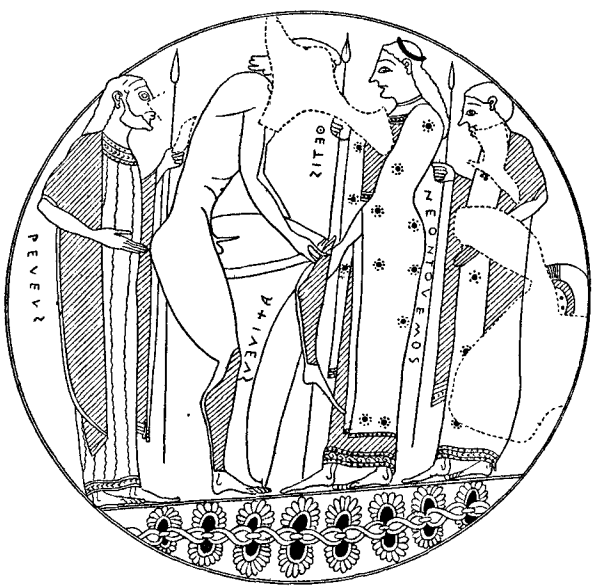


FIG. 63. — Plate at Athens.

life was spent entirely in Asia, while Peleus never left Phthia, and Neoptolemus did not go to Ilium until after his father's death. But it expresses relations; it is a family group if not a historic one. Similarly, when Theseus slays the Minotaur on early vases,[2] some of the Athenian boys and girls sent to be the prey of the monster are sometimes present to give the occa-

[1] Heydemann, *Griech. Vasenbilder*, Pl. VI., 4.
[2] Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, p. 1790.

sion, and Ariadne and Minos to give the conditions. Thus again in early representations of the transformations of Thetis, as she seeks to escape from the grasp of her wooer Peleus, we see the lion, the sea-monster, or the serpent, whose forms she successively assumed, present beside the goddess in her ordinary human shape (Fig. 58).

It is quite natural that, with the rise of true Greek art towards the end of the sixth century, and with the introduction of additional figures into the composition, we find a clearer conception of unity in space and time, as well as a growing sense of poetic appropriateness; the meaning becomes more important than mere naïve story-telling, or than the contrivance of agreeable schemes and perfect balance. Many vase-paintings of this more purposeful kind offer delightful puzzles in their interpretation; but interpretation must never overlook the fact that the picture had to be composed according to a somewhat rigid scheme, and is regulated by the ideas of ancient and not of modern art.

At the same time that the composition gains in meaning, and the actors become more numerous, the set schemes of which I have spoken are modified and refined. At all times in the history of Greek art, sculptor and painter succeed in nothing better than in the slight variations on a given theme, by which they manage, without once breaking with tradition, in casting it in ever fresh forms of beauty. Abundant illustrations of the statements of the last two paragraphs will be found in subsequent chapters.

It may perhaps be in part due to the influence of the drama that certain schemes of arrangement, though known to early art, become more usual and prominent in the middle of the fifth century.

One of these may be called the *chorus scheme*. It consists in introducing on either side of the essential figures of a scene a number of subordinate figures of one class, who sympathize with the action going on, and express their sympathy by attitude and motion, but do not in fact take part in the action. They thus perform something like the function of the chorus in a drama, as the chorus was understood before the time of Euripides. For example, in the paintings which depict the seizing of Thetis by Peleus, her sister nymphs are often present in numbers, and fly in panic terror to right and left. I give an example from a beautiful vase of the middle of the fifth century, bearing the name of the potter Hiero (Fig. 64).[1] On the other side of the same vase, in which the subject is

FIG. 64 *a*. — Vase of Hiero.

continued, we see an example of what may be termed the *messenger scheme*. All who are acquainted with the Attic drama will remember that very often the main action of the piece does not take place on the stage, but is reported by a messenger who has witnessed it. On vases the telling by the

[1] *Wiener Vorlegebl.*, A. 1.

messenger does not occur in a detached way, for the obvious reason that in that case it would be impossible to determine what tale he was telling. But when some action is depicted on the front or obverse of a vase, we often find on the reverse

FIG. 64 *b*. — Vase of Hiero.

an adaptation of the messenger idea. On the reverse of the vase before us, one of the sisters of Thetis is rushing to her father Nereus and is kissing him as a preparation for the not very disastrous tale she has to tell.

As I have said, these schemes are not peculiar to the fifth century. Nereids appear as a sort of a chorus, even on black-figured vases; and on the celebrated Florence vase (François Vase) of Clitias and Ergotimus there is an instance of the messenger scheme, for while Achilles is pursuing Troilus, Antenor brings news of the ambush to Priam, who is seated at the gate of Troy. But they are comparatively rare on sixth-century vases: towards the middle of the fifth century they become common. The messenger scheme is specially appropriate on the reverse of a vase the obverse of which gives us the event or action of which news has to be brought.

At about the middle of the fifth century the possibilities of vase-representation are greatly enlarged by the introduction of the modified perspective of which I have spoken as Polygnotan. Henceforward, though small and ordinary vases retain to the end the single-plane scheme which is usual in relief, larger and more elaborate designs sometimes offer to us two or more than two series of figures, the further figures appearing higher up on the vase. It is at once evident that the new arrangement would allow a much more complicated treatment; the simple archaic schemes, flanked by a certain number of interested spectators, could open and widen out indefinitely, subject to the laws of space-filling and of balance enumerated above. As a result we have at once, as has been already shown, some of the finest and most interesting of vase-paintings. But toward 400 B.C. Athens ceases to be the great manufactory of vases, and the art is transferred to the potteries of Tarentum and Rubi and other cities of Lower Italy. The result is that the vase-paintings, though elaborate, lose their freshness and point. The field is filled up with figures of the circles of Aphrodite and Dionysus. The variations, so to speak, entirely overwhelm the original scheme, and the vase produces an impression of degeneration and corruption.

I will make the progress of a scene through the history of vase-painting clearer by taking, as an example, the sending forth from Eleusis of Triptolemus by the goddess Demeter and her daughter Kora, in a car drawn by winged serpents, on his mission to introduce among men the cultivation of corn, with all its civilizing results. My illustrations are taken from the great *Kunstmythologie* of Overbeck, Pls. XV.–XVI.

The central figure in this series of representations is Triptolemus himself in his car, carrying wheat ears. It is curious

that in the earliest representations the car is not represented as winged, nor as drawn by serpents; and the presence of Demeter and Persephone is by no means invariable. We give the design of a black-figured amphora, wherein the three figures of Triptolemus and his patronesses, who are scarcely differentiated from one another, are given in the simplest way (Fig. 65).[1]

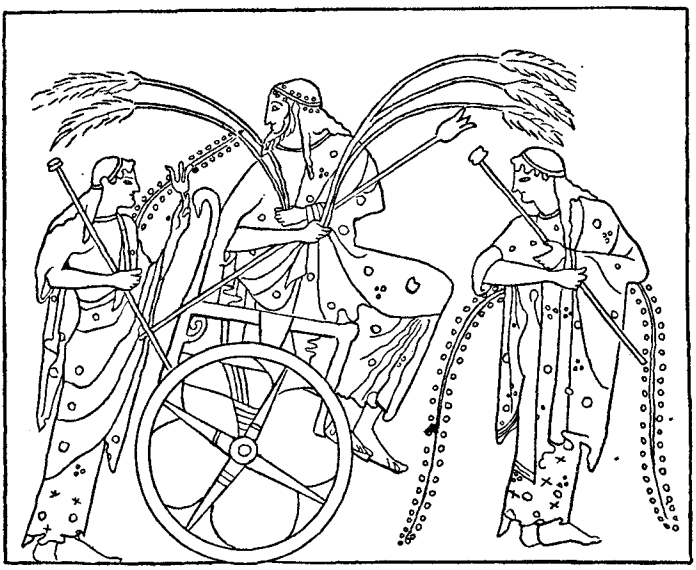


FIG. 65. — Black-figured vase.

Next we place a very beautiful drawing from a vase of the potter Hiero in the British Museum. Here details are far more elaborate: snakes do not indeed draw the car, but they are attached to it, and a wing is fixed on the axle; Demeter stands behind her favourite in a beautiful dress, holding a torch; Persephone also carries a torch and pours for her protégé a parting draught of wine. Only one fresh figure is added to

[1] Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, XV., 6.

the group, the nymph Eleusis, who personifies the locality of the scene (Fig. 66).[1] The vase of Hiero dates from the time

FIG. 66. — Vase of Hiero.

of the Persian wars, and offers us, as his vases commonly do, rather elaborate perfection of detail than any novelty in the conception. The reverse of the vase shows us a group of deities, — Poseidon, Amphitrite, Zeus, and Dionysus, and Eumolpus, the fabled founder of the Eleusinian mysteries. The next vase is

FIG. 67. — Hydria.

perhaps twenty years later, of the form called a hydria (Fig. 67).[2] Here the figures of the group are more numerous, but

[1] Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, XV., 22 *a*. [2] *Ibid.*, XV., 31.

their connection with the scene is less clear. We have in the midst as before Triptolemus between the two goddesses. The figure with the torches behind Demeter is given in the inscription as Hecate, and we may suppose the balancing figure on the other side, who also carries two torches, to be Artemis, though indeed she may perhaps be a mortal woman. The two flanking figures on either side are less easy to identify. He on the left, who holds the cornucopiae, has been called Hades; and Hades has some right to be present at the scene; but he would scarcely appear as an old white-headed man, seeing how forceful was his wooing of Persephone. Stephani has therefore suggested for him the name Agathos Daimon, a deity propitious to agriculture. The female figure at the other end of the group who carries a basket seems to be a mere attendant.

The vase-picture next figured belongs to the fourth century, comes from Italy, and was probably painted by a Tarentine.[1] Freer, and more original in composition than earlier vases, liberated from the stiff processional scheme, it shows poverty in thought and meaning as well as convention in execution (Fig. 68).[2] By an ingenious arrangement the serpents are made actually to draw the car, in which sits Triptolemus, receiving the parting cup from his mistress Demeter. Persephone, strangely enough, is entirely absent. Other figures are grouped round — Aphrodite and her son Eros, Peitho, a satyr with a Pan's pipe, two Horae, each bearing sympathetically an ear of corn. There is an attempt to represent the landscape — a river bordered with plants flows in the foreground; among the plants is a cat carrying off a bird. In the background are trees. The cat naturally suggests that the whole scene has been removed from Eleusis to Egypt, and the inscription ΝΕΙΛΟΣ appended to the river makes this more clear. The

[1] The aspirate ⊦ in the name of the Horae seems to point to Tarentum.
[2] *Ibid.*, XVI., 13.

vase, while it cannot be considered a satisfactory embodiment of the myth, shows an odd assortment of learning. The painter knew the story according to which the mysteries of Eleusis came originally from the land of the Nile; but he sees

FIG. 68. — Vase of Tarentum.

no incongruity in placing the Greek Peitho and the Attic Horae, Thallo and Carpo, in Egypt. In other late vase-representations of the same subject there are even more curious confusions and transpositions.

I will next speak of certain methods or habits of the Greek vase-painter which may be abundantly observed in the vases of all periods — certain dialectic peculiarities, if I may so term them, on the analogy of language.

One of the commonest phenomena of vase-painting is what is called *contamination*, the influence exerted by one recognized scheme upon another, the transference of persons or circumstances from surroundings in which they have a meaning to a

connection in which they are out of place. That this should commonly take place is the surest of proofs that the painters of vases thought in schemes and figures as well as in event or myth. Contamination, as is natural, is far more prominent in vases which are mere handiwork than in such as have real meaning, and were executed with thought. Also in schemes made up of closely similar elements, for example, Hermes leading three nymphs and Hermes leading the goddesses to the judgment of Paris, it is very natural that these two should be, as often happens, somewhat mixed up.[1] But contamination occurs under a variety of other circumstances. Though it may be most readily traced in vase-paintings, it is also prevalent in other parts of the Greek fancy world. Myths also are constantly contaminated, one borrowing event and circumstance from another. Religious usages are also very liable to contamination. It will be well to give a few examples of vase contamination.

I have already observed that when two heroes are represented as contending in arms, and the two mothers standing on either side behind them, we usually regard the scene as the battle between Achilles and Memnon, in the presence of their mothers, Thetis and Eos. On a fine vase, probably painted by Euphronius (Fig. 69),[2] we find a beautiful scene, where the body of a dead hero is carried to its burial by two winged figures, a black-haired daemon, who is doubtless Death, and a red-haired companion, who is Sleep. One thinks at once of the Homeric lines in which it is stated that Sleep and Death bore off the dead body of Sarpedon to his native Lycia; and it is probable that the vase-painter was thinking of Sarpedon when he worked. But the space was not filled, though the group was complete;

[1] The judgment of Paris is reserved for more detailed treatment in chapter XV.

[2] Klein, *Euphronios*, p. 272.

and he adds on each side a female figure, thinking probably of some painting in which Thetis and Eos stood by their two sons. One of these women is turned by the herald's staff which she carries into Iris, the messenger of the gods, who can scarcely be out of place. But the other figure is obscure. Sarpedon had not a noted mother.

Another good example of contamination is cited by Professor Robert, from a black-figured vase[1] where is depicted a warrior hurling from him a boy whom he has seized by the leg.

FIG. 69. — Vase of Euphronius.

It should be Neoptolemus flinging Astyanax from the towers of Ilium; but the presence of a temple, a tripod, and a chariot make it likely that the event in the vase-painter's mind was the slaying of Troilus by Achilles at the altar of Apollo. It is hard to be sure which death is really intended; but in either case circumstances usual in the rendering of the one event are transferred to the other.

Another example may be found in a kylix on which is represented Oedipus seated before a sphinx, who is perched on the top of a pillar. That it was the tale of Oedipus which was in

[1] *Mon. d. Inst.*, I., 34; *Bild und Lied*, p. 112.

the mind of the vase-painter is proved by the inscriptions (Fig. 70).[1] But, apart from them, we might almost have seen in the

FIG. 70. — Kylix.

picture an ordinary gravestone surmounted by the figure of a sphinx, with a relative of the dead seated near. The sphinx, an adornment of the tomb, must have been familiar to the vase-

[1] Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Pl. 73. On the vase is the curious form Οἰδιπόδης: the letters K]AITRI[Γ]ON allude to the riddle which the sphinx asked of Oedipus, "What creature goes on four legs in the morning, on two during the day, and on three at evening?" The answer was, man, the third leg of evening being the staff of old age.

painter. This illustrates the fact that the contamination in vase-painting is not usually between two myths, but between two figure schemes which mingled in the mind of the artist. He was not hesitating which of two tales to portray, but, thinking in concrete figures, thought indistinctly.

Locality. — I have already, in speaking of the works of Polygnotus, shown how fond the great art of Greece is of telling a story or defining a personality by means of allusion. In certain classes of vase-paintings the custom is common, as has indeed already been shown.

It would not be easy to find better instances of this way of expression than are furnished by indications of locality in vase-paintings. These are of two kinds. Sometimes one marked feature of a place is depicted in order to signify the whole, sometimes the place is represented by a personification.

(1) *A marked feature.* — Thus a pillar often stands for a temple or a palace, a tripod or altar represents a sacred place, a crab or a shell-fish the sea-shore. A single tree, as on the Orvieto vase (Fig. 34), stands sometimes for a forest. Here we have a Polygnotan parallel: in the painting at Delphi which represented Hades, a single willow seems to have stood for the grove of poplars and willows which Homer ascribes to Persephone. A closet in the background sometimes shows that the scene is the apartments of the women; tablets or drawing materials hung up against the wall show a school, and so forth. For examples, see Figs. 72, 73.

(2) *A personification.* — This is the most thoroughly Hellenic way of representing a place. It was entirely in accord with the genius of the nation to embody not merely the great powers of nature and the aspects of life in mythologic personalities, but also thus to signify the features of a landscape. A vase has

FIG. 71. — Blacas vase: sunrise.

दृश्य मुख्यों सातवां किंण सप्त मुख्यों
घोड़ा are instances impressions from
Sculpture in low relief where only prominent
parts are seen in relief See Page 82 Fig 23 + 71

Similar idea सप्तमुख्यों घोड़ा
4 Horse represent four seasons
7 mouthed horse represents
seven days of a week

been above (Fig. 66) represented, wherein Eleusis the place is represented by Eleusis the nymph. In similar fashion the rivers Alpheius and Cladeus appear in one of the pediments of the temple of Zeus at Olympia as reclining men (Fig. 23). And in Roman and Pompeian paintings, at a later time, stream and rock, mountain and meadow, are all represented by groups of male and female daemons and nymphs.

In a similar way, in some of the compositions of Pheidias, the rising sun and the setting moon, embodied in the chariots of Helios and Selene or Nyx, give the time, the moment when dawn breaks on the earth and darkness flies. One finds this scheme copied on a few vases.[1] Sunrise could not be more delightfully represented by human figures than it is in the Blacas vase of the British Museum, on which Helios appears rising out of the sea, and the stars, represented as nude boys, are plunging into the clouds beneath them, while Eos, the Dawn, as a winged goddess, pursues the hunter Cephalus, and the moon goddess on her horse sinks behind the hills (Fig. 71).[2] The figure running on the hills behind Eos is probably a mountain god, and signifies place, as the other figures signify time.

There is a method of representing a tale which belongs to all early and primitive art, and which is occasionally found in Greek vase-paintings, though, in fact, it is anything but characteristic of them — the method of *continuous narration*.[3]

[1] *E.g.* the vase from Ruvo, *Mon. d. Inst.*, IX., 6.

[2] Figured in Roscher's *Lexikon*, I., p. 2010, Baumeister, I., p. 640, and elsewhere. *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, III., p. 284. None of the representations is trustworthy, as the vase was retouched. It has now been cleaned.

[3] Professor Wickhoff, in a work which has been translated into English, on *Roman Art*, represents this method as characteristic of Roman art, adopted from it by early Christian art, and so perpetuated through the Middle Ages. It does, no doubt, belong in a marked degree to early Christian art, but

In the representations in which this method, or want of method, prevails, we find successive scenes placed side by side without division, and the hero depicted again and again once in each. Thus in the undivided scroll which runs round the pillar of Trajan, that Emperor is represented more than ninety times in various connections and surroundings.

It is a mark of the strong sense of style which pervades Greek art from the first that this method is soon superseded. A few vases may be found which exemplify it; but to lay stress upon them would be to call attention to the exception at the expense of the rule. A good example of the nearest approach to the style of continuous narration which is to be found in Greek art is the British Museum vase which represents the adventures of Theseus,[1] on which Theseus is depicted again and again, occupied in his varied exploits. Another vase which perhaps goes a little further in this direction is a beautiful toilet-vase from Eretria, in the design of which a bride is twice depicted, on the left as seated in company with Eros, and on the right as led by her husband to her new abode.[2] We have also on a vase (Fig. 76), cited below, which represents the slaying of the Thracians at Troy by Odysseus and Diomedes, two figures of the latter hero, one slaying and one escaping. And Odysseus appears twice over on the vase Fig. 77.

The mention of the toilet-vase reminds us that we have treated almost exclusively of vases the subject of which is

it is there a revival of a primitive manner, which the empire of Greek art had almost civilized off the face of the earth. Few better examples of the method could be found than the sixth-century Phoenician cup from Palestrina (*Mon. d. Inst.*, X., 31), the subject of which has been cleverly shown, by M. Clermont Ganneau, to be the successive events of a day's hunting.

[1] *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, Atlas, Pl. X.

[2] *Jahrbuch des arch. Inst.*, 1900, Pl. 2.

mythologic. There is, however, a large class of vases, especially of the red-figured styles, of which the subjects are not taken from the national repertory of tales, but from the events of daily life. Athletes practising their exercises, bathers, men engaged in sacrifice or in feasting, women in their homes, children at play, marriages, funerals, offerings to the dead, are all ordinary subjects of vase-painting. Very often, indeed, it is impossible to say whether a vase-painting was meant to represent the battles, the sacrifices, or the feasts of heroes of mythology or of persons of everyday life. This last observation may perhaps reassure us, since it shows that the *grammar* of vase-painting is the same whether mythical scenes or scenes of every day be depicted. Of course in the latter case there is more freedom, not unfrequently even humour; but the Greek love of scheme and type prevails even in the representation of *genre.* scenes.

CHAPTER XIII

LITERATURE AND PAINTING: THE EPIC

THE relations of poetry to art offer a subject of great interest to the student of the classics. The subject was brought fully before the learned world by Lessing in his *Laocoon*. The *Laocoon* has become a classic both in Germany and in England; and it still keeps the interest which always attaches to the first thorough study of an important subject by a great man. But Lessing's knowledge of Greek art was closely limited. The history of ancient sculpture had in his time barely been sketched, and Greek painting was practically unknown. One cannot, therefore, be surprised to find that many of his dicta no longer hold. His theories have the same relation to modern archaeology which the theories of Adam Smith have to modern economics.

Our present subject is especially the relations which may be observed between vase-painting and literature. This is a matter concerning all whose education is on classical lines.[1]

[1] The most important general work on this subject is still Robert's *Bild und Lied;* some of the papers of Jahn and Brunn are full of suggestion. Mr. Huddilston's *Attitude of the Greek Tragedians towards Art* may also be consulted. In late years it has occurred to several publishers to issue editions of the Greek and Roman writers with illustrations, largely taken from ancient vase-paintings. I am sorry to say that this has seldom been done by adequate authorities or in a satisfactory fashion. Hill's *Illustrations of School Classics* is a good exception. Engelmann's *Bilderatlas zur Ilias* and *zur Odyssee* (English edition by Anderson) is also a work of a competent authority. Most of the vases which bear on literature are figured in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*.

We must begin by endeavouring to put out of our minds the modern relations between poem or tale and the representations of the events there narrated in painting and sculpture. We moderns are a reading race, and form our minds on books; whence it has come about that the written tale or legend has complete domination over the pictured tale or legend. We are also thoroughly used to illustrated editions, in which the artist does all he can to make real and vivid the tale of the novelist or poet. This artist reads the text with care; he tries to imbibe its atmosphere; he studies the dress and surroundings of the period of the tale. He puts his art at the disposal of the writer; and if there be any discrepancy between the pictured and the written version, it is always the artist who is blamed. If the poet alter for his own purposes the tale as handed down by tradition, the artist must follow the poet in all his innovations. When the reader can say that the situation in the poem is perfectly rendered in the picture, the artist is so far justified. And having acquired this habit of mind from the use of illustrated books, we carry it even into our criticisms of more independent works of painting, when exhibited in our galleries. In that case, of course, the artist is much freer in his rendering; he is not bound to follow any one account, unless, of course, the whole tale be the invention of a poet. But it would always be regarded as a bold and doubtful proceeding, if an artist depicted a scene from some history or tale in a manner for which there was no written authority; he would be regarded as trying to combine the incompatible duties of the historian and the artist. I am speaking, it will be observed, of what may be called *narrative* paintings; of course when a painting merely depicts a situation and explains itself, the case is different.

In these matters the Greeks thought and felt very differently. It would be absurd to speak of the Greek artist as freer than

the modern, since his limits were narrower, and he was bound by a thousand conventions which have now lost their power. But at least his public was not in the habit of reading, or of bringing his sculpture or painting into close relations with the works of poet or mythographer.

Before we search out how the vase-painter *did* treat the myths and tales wherewith he adorned his vases, it may be well briefly to consider the psychological aspect of the matter, to set forth the conditions which would naturally govern his hand and brain in his work. Vases were made to sell, and therefore the demand of the customers would naturally guide the hand of the designer. But on the other hand, the demand was not the result of an incalculable caprice, nor of a constantly changing fashion: the Greek mind moved slowly on the lines of order and law, in an evolution of which the course can be traced with certainty. Artist and customer were swept along in the same steady stream of influence.

This accounts for an observation made by Dr. Klein[1] and others that the paintings on Greek vases, especially the fashionable kylix, more readily take their subjects, than the mode in which those subjects are treated, from prevalent currents in mythology. The mode of treatment was largely fixed by tradition; but the subject was open to freer choice, and in this latter respect demand might have effect. For example, the exploits of Theseus seem to have been a favourite subject at Athens soon after the Persian wars, at the time when Cimon was bringing to Athens the bones of the national hero from the island of Scyros; but those exploits are much schematized in the manner which we have already studied.

Looking at Greek religion and myth from one point of view,

[1] *Euphronios*, p. 163.

it seems to resolve itself into "Cults of the Greek States." In every city there were temples of the gods, in which each of the deities who received worship received it in some special form or aspect — Apollo as sun-god, or healer, or prophet, Artemis as deity of childbirth, or as moon-goddess, or as huntress, and so on. And with these functions of the deities went myths appropriate to those functions, myths as fleeting and varied as the shapes of the clouds. But nevertheless in the higher poetry of Greece, and in the art everywhere, there was prevalent a sort of national Hellenic mythology, which gives unity to the works of writers and artists of different cities and varied schools, and which produced national Hellenic types in sculpture and in poetry, so that after all it is possible to speak of Greek religion and Greek art, and not only of the religion or art of Argos, or Athens, or Rhodes. To the learned scholar the local divergencies will always be prominent, but by the ordinary cultivated man that wherein Greece differed from Italy and from Asia will always be seen to be more important and more profound than that wherein one Greek city differed from another. Probably a cultivated Greek might have taken the same view. And whatever may have been the case with other cities, Athens certainly closely adhered to the Pan-Hellenic way of thought and poetry and art.

"Every Greek who was born above the ranks of the sordidly poor went to school during boyhood; and at every Greek school the Homeric and Hesiodic poems were made the text-books of education. With them were associated the poems of the later lyrical poets, such as Pindar and Simonides, and of the gnomic writers; but Homer and Hesiod always remained the chief source whence came the Greek ideas as to the hierarchy and the functions of the gods. And the training thus imparted in youth was confirmed and consolidated, day by day, by the power of the second education which every Greek went

through, education of the mind through the eyes, by observation of the innumerable works of art which filled all Hellenic cities. In art the poetic view of the gods, started by Homer and Hesiod, and carried on by Pindar and Simonides and the other great poets of early Greece, was in the main adopted and carried out. What wonder, then, if the Greeks held fast those notions as to the gods which were instilled into their minds in childhood, and which were enforced every day by the testimony of poetry and art?"[1]

While, however, Homer and the Epic, together with the classic art mainly founded on them, fixed for all time the chief features of the poetic mythology of Greece, changes necessarily took place, changes which certainly became more rapid and more marked as the Greek world turned the goal and moved in the direction of dissolution. The rationalizing spirit, which we find not only in the writings of philosophers like Plato, but also in the poems of Stesichorus, and in a marked degree in the dramas of Euripides, tended to make certain versions of current myths more suitable for popular acceptance than other versions. We may expect to find, in the fourth and even sometimes in the fifth century, traces in art of the influence of changing scientific theories, changing religious views, changing canons of literary taste; but these traces are not prominent until the third century, with which in this work we have little to do.

I have spoken of mythology and of the types of the gods; but no rigid line can be drawn between the gods and the heroes of legendary Greece, who were another principal subject depicted in Greek art. There was no impassable gulf between deity and hero. Callisto, the bear-goddess of Arcadia, became later one of the nymphs attendant on Artemis; Asklepios, on the other hand, after being regarded as a hero, became in later Greece one of the chief deities of Hellas; Achilles was in some

[1] Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Greek Antiquities*, p. 102.

places worshipped as a hero, in some as a deity, and so forth. Thus it is not surprising that what I have said in regard to the mythology of the gods applies also to the legends of the heroes. These also varied from place to place, and existed in rival forms. But these, also, were fixed within limits for all educated men by the great epics of the heroic cycle.

These observations prepare us for the discussion of the question how far we can trace in vase-paintings the influence of the various kinds of poetry, of the epic, the lyric, and the dramatic masterpieces of early Greece. This influence might be exerted in any of three ways. First, the choice of *subject* might be made under the influence of poetry. Second, the particular *form* of the tale accepted might be due to such influence. Third, there might be a general epic, lyric, or dramatic *tone* in the vase-painting, showing itself in the details or the manner of representation.

I propose to consider how far any of these kinds of connection or influence can be traced between vase-paintings and the poems of the epic, lyric, or dramatic class. In the present chapter I will confine myself to the epic, and reserve the other kinds of poetry for a separate chapter. First, then, of *Epic Poetry.*

(1) *Subjects.* — We can scarcely doubt that influence of the first kind mentioned would be exerted by the Epic. The popularity of any myth, whether produced by current poetical treatment of it or by any other cause, would naturally put it into the heads of vase-painters. As regards subject, the literature which has the closest bearing on vase-paintings is the Epic.[1]

[1] Lists of vases bearing subjects from the Epic will be found in Luckenbach, *Das Verhältniss der griechischen Vasenbilder zu den Gedichten des epischen Kyklos.*

The subjects portrayed in them are very frequently taken from the epic cycle. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, however, comparatively seldom furnish their subjects, which are more commonly taken from the works of the lesser poems of the cycle, the *Iliupersis* of Arctinus, the *Cypria*, the *Aethiopis*, and the rest. At first sight this may seem a strange fact, since the works of Lesches Stasinus and Arctinus were not in schools made so much of as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The reason is that certain stock subjects from the outer epic, such subjects as the choice of Paris and the wooing of Thetis, seem to have made their way into art very early, and are repeated almost *ad nauseam* by the potters.

(2) *Variation of Story.* — It has been observed that when we find a vase which has really cost its painter some thought, and does not run in the lines of ordinary tradition, then its subject is often from the great Homeric poems. So it would seem that when a vase-painter consciously invented, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* would often occur to him. These vases, it is true, often sit very loose to the Homeric text; it is only in a small minority of cases that the correspondence is close. Some modern archaeologists have exercised great pains and shown great erudition in the discussion whether the divergencies from Homer are due to a variant text or to a later epic authority. Questions of this kind will come before us presently (chapter XIV.). But I may say at once that in the great majority of cases, or in nearly all, we can account for the variation from the usual literary tradition in a simpler fashion, and one doing more justice to Hellenic ways. We must ever be on our guard against supposing that the Greeks were a reading people, or were dependent, as we are dependent, upon the works of poets and historians. Artistic tradition with the vase-painters counted for more than literary tradition. How this artistic tradition worked we have already seen.

(3) *Special Treatment.* — Professor Robert, carrying out a suggestion of Jahn, has affirmed [1] that we may see on the vases, especially those of the archaic period, a tone or manner of treatment which may fairly be called Epic. "In all these products of archaic workmen we may see a bright and simple-hearted delight in portraying and in what is portrayed, a delight that what before had only passed in song from mouth to mouth should stand bodily before our eyes in a representation." "The tone which prevails in this archaic period is the same that predominates in the Epic, the tone of narration full of ease. It relates and gossips like old Nestor in Homer, and can never weary of relation and gossip, flowing over into detail. This period of art indeed wants to tell the whole story and does not heed that it cannot, like poetry, treat of the whole history of the matter, but only of a phase." Instances already given (such as Fig. 63) quite bear out the observations of Robert.

These views will become clearer if we take a few characteristic vases of good period, the subject of which is clearly Homeric. On a kotyle of Hiero (about 480 B.C.) we have two scenes from the *Iliad* which have a close connection one with the other — the leading away of Briseis from the tent of Achilles to that of Agamemnon, and the embassy of Odysseus and Ajax to implore the aid of Achilles, when the Trojans had fought their way to the ships (Fig. 72).[2]

We must first glance at these vase-pictures from the point of view of space and balance. The two scenes, each of four figures, occurring on the two sides of the vase, balance one another, and conform admirably to the form of the vase. In

[1] *Bild und Lied*, p. 13.
[2] *Mon. d. Inst.*, VI., 19

each we have complete balance about the middle, and correspondence of figure to figure. As an example of careful adaptation to space, we may take the way in which the figure of Odysseus, as he bends forward in his oratory, together with the sword hung on the wall, fits the form of the seated

FIG. 72. — Kotyle of Hiero.

Achilles, and the fashion in which the seat in front of Agamemnon fills the space under the handle.

Taking next the scenes one by one, we may analyze them and compare them with the Homeric text. The embassy to Achilles is closely parallel to the *Iliad*. In Book IX. it is narrated how Agamemnon, repenting that he had vexed Achilles

by carrying away Briseis, sent an embassy to make reparation, consisting of Odysseus, Ajax, and the aged Phoenix. When they reach the tent of Achilles, they find him singing to the lyre in the company of Patroclus. He receives them graciously, and Odysseus tries to persuade him to resume his place in the battle, but without success. The lyre-playing Achilles is not rare in ancient art; but on our vase Achilles sits sulking and wrapped in his mantle. In all other points the vase-painting is in a broad sense Homeric. The heroes are carefully differentiated. Achilles is of gigantic stature, his head when seated being almost on a level with those of the others when standing: this size refers rather to heroic rank than to mere physical stature. He is still young; in all ways he presents a marked contrast to Odysseus, whose close clustering hair and beard are those of the typical strong man. The hat at the back of the head of Odysseus and his boots indicate the world-wide traveller, though here we have allusion rather to the future destiny than to the past history of the hero. Phoenix, as an old man with thin hair, stands wrapped in his cloak and leaning on a staff. Ajax is far less successfully characterized: he seems drawn by the analogy of Phoenix, whom he balances, into an elderly man; but hair and beard are of heroic fulness.

The other picture is according to the spirit and not according to the letter. Agamemnon (*Il.* I.) sent to fetch Briseis his two heralds Talthybius and Eurybates. Achilles yielded her without resistance, and they brought her unwilling to the tent of their master. Four figures were needed for the composition, and most indispensable among these would be the figure of Briseis herself. According to the ordinary scheme a lady led into captivity is accompanied by two men, one to lead her, the other to look back and repel pursuit. It might seem most natural to complete the scene with the two heralds, and Agamemnon waiting to receive the captive. But the vase-

painter prefers to represent Agamemnon himself as leading Briseis, while Talthybius follows and Diomedes, armed, guards the rear. Diomedes seems out of place; but that hero was in the *Iliad* specially prominent in the whole affair of Briseis,[1] and merely to insert the second herald would weaken the picture. From the vase-painter's point of view the leading warrior and the following warrior are essential; it is the figure of Talthybius which is unusual, and inserted in deference to the Homeric story.

We see clearly how far more highly the painter valued the idea than the fact. Had he represented the lady and the two heralds in attendance he would have missed essential features of the story, that Agamemnon was the author of the whole affair, and that Diomedes took a prominent part in it. A modern painter would have laid more stress on Briseis herself; but she was only a captive, a pawn in the heroic game played by the kings. Briseis in the *Iliad* is not at all prominent, and the modern reader, whose ancestors have passed through the age of chivalry, reads with a strange feeling the words of Achilles, "With my hands never will I strive with thee or any other for the sake of a girl."

The scene of the event is indicated in that simple fashion which may be called the method of abbreviation. The tree on the right marks the plain of Troy whence the group come; the seat on the left the tent of Agamemnon, in which a more solid chair would be out of place. In the same way in the opposite scene, sword and helmet hung up, and richly ornamented camp-stool, epitomize the tent of Achilles, and signify his determination to cease from warring. Is it possible to imagine a simpler and more pleasing symbolism?

We may compare with this rendering of the scene by Hiero

[1] Professor Robert, in his *Bild und Lied*, p. 96, suggests that Diomedes really belongs to the embassy on the other side, and is transferred.

another, in the British Museum (Fig. 73),[1] which is less dominated by artistic tradition and perhaps equally charming in its way, though inferior in technique. Here the fetching of Briseis is divided into two scenes, each containing six figures.

FIG. 73. — Vase in British Museum.

In both, with small variations, recurs the same group of the two heralds, of whom one precedes and leads while the other follows Briseis. The artist has tried to bring out as clearly as possible the contrast between the starting-place and the goal

[1] Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Pl. 41.

of the journey. On one side of the vase the sulking Achilles sits wrapped in his cloak between two of his Myrmidons, who appear to console him as best they can. Their civic dress shows how for the time they have laid aside the notion of fighting. Achilles is seated in his tent, and his arms are hung up within it. On the other side, we have a far more stately building, represented by the two pillars which flank the entrance of the palace of Agamemnon, and between which the cortège passes. Three bearded Greek citizens stand outside the house. Certainly to a modern mind the scene would have been more effectively rendered if Agamemnon had stood within his palace, and the cortège been represented as approaching it from the left. Why this line was not taken it is hard to say. We must not expect in our vase-painter too much originality or logical thoroughness. Professor Robert has pointed out[1] that in his representation of the tent of Achilles, the artist has admitted the influence of which I have already spoken as contamination. The wrapped-up figure of the seated Achilles and the Myrmidon standing before him, leaning on a staff, might well be close copies of a group consisting of Odysseus addressing the sulking Achilles, as we have it on the vase last cited. And the other Myrmidon reminds us of the Phoenix on the same vase.

Among vases distinctly intended to portray a Homeric combat, a high place is taken by the kylix from Rhodes, which I first published in the *Journal of Philology*[2] (Fig. 74). The vase is of the early part of the fifth century, in the severe red-figured style. One of the scenes depicted on it is the combat of Diomedes and Aeneas in the fifth book of the

[1] *Bild und Lied*, p. 96.
[2] XII., p. 215.

Iliad. I may briefly recapitulate the details of the combat. Pandarus and Aeneas had driven in a chariot against Diomedes, who was fighting that day under the special protection of Athena. Diomedes first strikes Pandarus with his spear, and

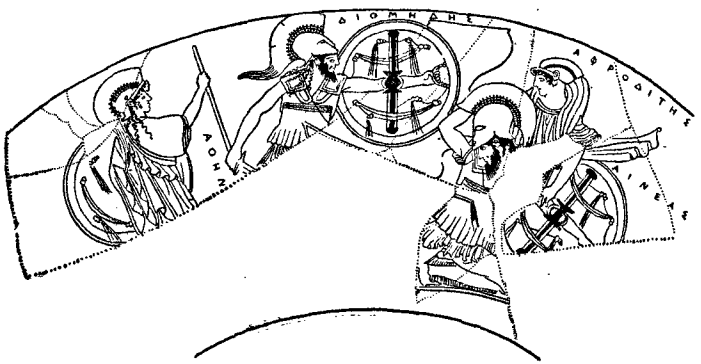


FIG. 74. — Vase in British Museum.

brings him to the ground; Aeneas springs forward to protect his fallen comrade; Diomedes hurls at him a mighty rock, which strikes him on the hip. Aeneas, however, is saved from death by the intervention of his mother, Aphrodite, who bears him away from the fray.

As the names Aeneas, Diomedes, Athena, Aphrodite, are all given, there can be no question that the vase-painter was thinking of the passage in the *Iliad*; and since we have no other representation of this scene, it is unlikely that he had any model to go by. It is the more interesting to watch his procedure. The central group is of an ordinary type: a Greek hoplite advances against a foe, who is beaten to his knees. His victory is indicated not only by the attitudes, but also by the fact that a spear is sticking in the body of Aeneas below the belt, while another spear is broken against the corselet of Diomedes. Put in the Homeric text there is nothing about an

exchange of spears; a rock is spoken of as the only weapon. Between the warriors one sees what looks like the outline of a rock behind. Can this be a gentle allusion to the missile? Aphrodite is in the act of lifting her son by both arms; Athena stands armed behind her protégé, Diomedes. This is a good example of the looseness to fact and the truth to idea of Greek artists. The defeat of Aeneas, his rescue by his mother, the divine support of Diomedes, are all clearly portrayed; but the details of the contest are given without any pretence to accuracy. An ordinary scheme is so far modified as to have a clear Homeric reference, that is all.

We have on late vases of Apulia illustrations of one of the most stirring events in the *Iliad*, the carrying off of the horses of the Thracian king Rhesus by Odysseus and Diomedes (*Il.* X.) and the slaying of some of the soldiers. The first vase-painting is from a cup at Berlin[1] (Fig. 75); it gives us but few figures, and tells the story in the simplest way. The artist represents a wooded scene; a tree and a few stones are sufficient to mark the character of the landscape. In the background, amid their arms which lie around, three Thracians are lying in constrained attitudes. Thracians, that is, they are meant to be, but their dress and equipment are not that proper to Thracians, which we find on Attic vases which represent the death of Orpheus at the hands of Thracian women,[2] but the dress which Greek artists give to the peoples of Asia Minor, Phrygians, Persians, and Scythians. In the foreground Odysseus, wearing sailor's cap and chlamys, with drawn sword in his hand, leads away the horses of Rhesus, and Diomedes, also with drawn sword, walks beside him. It will be remembered that in Homer the two heroes divide the task before them; Diomedes is to slay the sleeping Thracians while Odysseus

[1] Gerhard, *Coupes de Berlin*, Pl. K.

[2] See Roscher's *Lexikon*, III., p. 1180 and foll.

carries off the noble horses of Rhesus; each thus acts according to his nature.

But in order that we may fully understand this picture, we must compare with it a fuller version of the same scene, which

FIG. 75. — Vase at Berlin.

is to be found on another vase of the same period[1] (Fig. 76). In this the group of Odysseus with the horses and Diomedes is very similar, and Thracians again occupy the background; but there are additions which make the interpretation clearer. The nature of the ground, evidently a clearing in a forest, is more clearly marked. Of the Thracians, one is standing up, one has his head severed. A second figure of Diomedes appears, who rushes on the reclining figures, bent on slaughter. All these points have importance. The headless Thracian sug-

[1] *Wiener Vorlegebl.*, C. 3, 2.

gests that the constrained attitudes of the rest are meant to show that they have been slain, and are not merely asleep. The standing Thracian has evidently been waked, and is giving the alarm. Homer does not tell us that any of the Thracians was awaked; but he comes near it, for he says that when Diomedes came to King Rhesus he was breathing hard, for an evil dream stood above his head. The second figure of Diomedes is very curious. This seems a distinct instance of that method of continuous narration of which I have spoken above. Diomedes is represented both in his ravening and in his retreat.

FIG. 76.

Dr. Engelmann has cited in connection with this duplication the passage in which Homer represents Diomedes as hesitating whether he should carry out the chariot or go on to slaughter more of the foe. This citation I think misleading, and a good example of the tendency of the modern archæologist to sup-

pose that a vase-painter must work on the basis of some literary authority.

The vase-paintings of which the subject is taken from the wanderings of Odysseus, as detailed in the *Odyssey*,[1] are comparatively few in number. The adventures with the Cyclops, with Circe, with the Sirens, and with Scylla, all occur in various ancient works of art, but these subjects do not form large groups. Here then we may study the mutual workings of artistic tradition and artistic purpose under somewhat different conditions. I take as examples an archaic vase in which the blinding of the Cyclops is represented, and a red-figured vase whereon is depicted the adventure with the Sirens.

Every one will remember the delightful fairy tale which tells how Odysseus, after drugging the Cyclops with wine, cut a piece from his club and hardened the point of it in the fire, and then with the help of his comrades burnt out the one eye of the monster, thus reducing him to helplessness. In depicting this episode the one essential feature which the vase-painters cannot miss is the actual blinding; the Cyclops must be reclining, and two or three men driving the hardened pole into his eye. We have several early vase-pictures of the subject. In the oldest of all, the vase of Aristonophos,[2] the scene is as simply rendered as possible. The painter of a kylix of the Cyrenaic class[3] adds two curious touches — the Cyclops has in his hands the severed legs of one of Odysseus' companions, and the hero is in the act of offering him a bowl of wine. Three distinct times, the meal of the Cyclops, his drunkenness, and his blinding are thus amalgamated. Quite as complete is the anachronism in

[1] They are put together in Miss Jane Harrison's *Myths of the Odyssey*.

[2] Engelmann's *Bilderatlas zur Odyssee*, Pl. VI.

[3] *Mon. d. Inst.*, I., 7.

the black-figured Attic vase which I engrave (Fig. 77).[1] Here Odysseus figures twice; his hat, his sword, and his spotted chiton being identical in both representations. On the left he is hardening the pole in the fire, on the right he is directing it into the eye of the Cyclops. This pole indeed appears thrice, since it is represented also as a club in the hand of Polyphemus.

The monster is no monster, as he is in Etruscan and Pompeian art, save for size; he has apparently two eyes, and a

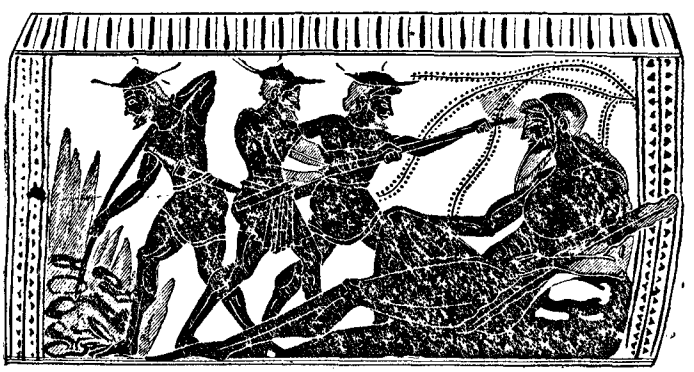


FIG. 77. — Attic vase.

good Greek profile. Here we have the inevitable Greek dislike to the monstrous triumphant. It is noticeable that in the *Odyssey* the deformity of the Cyclops is not dwelt on. He is called πέλωρος, but this word only means "huge," and is indeed often applied to the gods. Homer does not, like Hesiod, state that the Cyclops had but one eye, though, of course, if Polyphemus could be blinded by one push of the sharp stake, he can in logic have had but one eye. The fact is that the writer of the *Odyssey* has not the concrete imagination of Greek plastic

[1] *Gazette Archéol.*, 1887, Pl. 1.

art. His descriptions of the strange beings whom Odysseus encounters are often vague; the Cyclopes and the Laestrygones are only spoken of as gigantic. The companions of Odysseus, when bewitched by Circe, do not, as they are represented in the vases, turn into animal-headed men, but into very swine. The Sirens are not said to be unlike ordinary women in form. Only Scylla is frankly spoken of as monstrous, as having twelve feet and six heads, as being, in fact, a six-fold being, and seizing on six of the companions of Odysseus. Scylla in Greek art is in the form of a mermaid, with dogs about her middle. The gap between the vague story-telling of Homer and the definite and concrete spirit of Greek art is very striking.

In the vase which I have described, then, we may see a traditional scheme, varied by the desire to get in as much as possible of the Homeric tale.

In the next vase-painting we have a representation of the passing of the Sirens from an amphora in the British Museum (Fig. 78).[1] The ship with furled sail rows swiftly on, with Odysseus tied to the mast, according to his own directions. Two Sirens, in the form of human-headed birds, one called Himeropa, are standing singing on the rocks, a third with closed eyes is falling headlong into the sea. We have here three interesting sets of facts: (1) Homeric reminiscence, (2) artistic tradition, (3) continuous narration. (1) In the fact that the sails are furled while the rowers ply their oars we may perhaps see a reminiscence of the Homeric lines (XII., 170–172), which tell how the mariners pulled down their sails and took to their oars; but again the coincidence may be fortuitous. The binding of Odysseus to the mast is, of course, of the essence of the story, and could not be missed. (2) Artistic tradition is visible chiefly in the forms of the Sirens, who are here not sweet-

[1] *Mon. d. Inst.*, I., 8; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, III., 268.

voiced women, as in Homer, and on some Roman sarcophagi, but birds with human heads, an art form which in Egypt stood for the soul, but was otherwise used among the Greeks. Here, as in many cases, the Greeks, to repeat the phrase of Brunn, borrowed the letters of art from the East, but used them to spell out their own ideas. It must be confessed that in these bird-women there is nothing terrible; one would expect a warrior like Odysseus to make short work of them. The

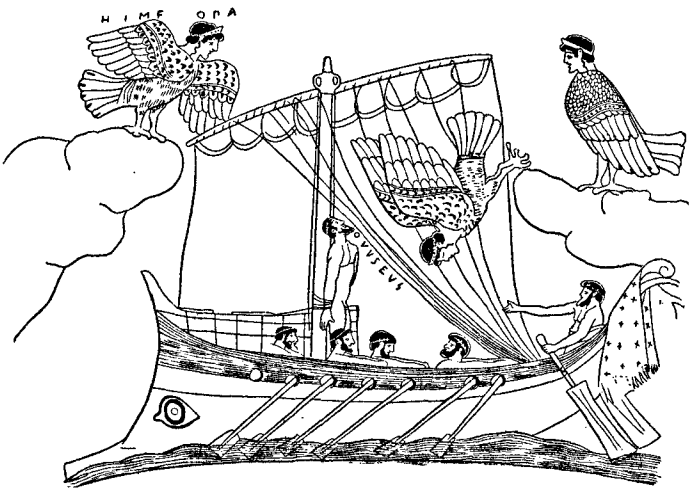


FIG. 78. — Vase in British Museum.

Greeks carried their dislike of the horrible in art sometimes to an extreme length. (3) I am disposed to see contamination and continuous narration in the introduction of the dead Siren falling into the sea, for there was a story current after the Homeric age, that when the Argonauts passed the islands of the Sirens, Orpheus entered into a musical contest with them, and defeated them, on which they threw themselves into the sea in despair. This story seems to have been transferred by the vase-painter

into the myth of Odysseus. In this case the second Siren, she on the right, would be depicted at two different moments, first as singing, second as throwing herself into the sea, and indeed as already dead. It may be to some extent a confirmation of this interpretation that Homer mentions but two Sirens; but this is, of course, not conclusive; and nymphs and daemons of this class commonly go in threes.

I have already observed that the subjects of vase-paintings are far more frequently taken from the other poems of the epic cycle than from the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. Something must be said about this large class of paintings. But as we have no actual text of the cyclic writers for comparison, it will be best to reserve one of the most ordinary and typical subjects of representation, the Judgment of Paris, for full treatment in a later chapter.

I will take one more example, from the Homeric Hymns, which though they belong of course to a later age than the Homeric, are perhaps best treated of here.

In the seventh hymn we find a charming tale of how Dionysus, when wandering by the shore of the sea in the guise of a beautiful youth, was seized and carried off by Tyrrhenian pirates. But as soon as they started, wine began to flow on the deck, vine and ivy to twine round the mast, and presently the deity took the form of a raging lion, for fear of whom the pirates sprang into the sea and were transmuted into dolphins.

This story is represented in the reliefs of the well-known monument of Lysicrates at Athens, which are closely analogous in composition to paintings. But everything is translated so as to suit the artistic conditions. In a long narrow field a ship could not well be the scene of the event; so it takes place on the land. The agent of the wrath of Dionysus is not a lion, but the faithful Satyrs who usually attend him, though accord-

ing to the tale in this case they were conspicuously absent. Some of the pirates are being captured or beaten; others are leaping into the sea, and as they leap are becoming dolphins: and this last fact is really almost the only one common to hymn and relief. In a vase-painting we should expect a somewhat nearer approach to the tale of the hymn, but our example is very characteristic of Greek artistic methods.

CHAPTER XIV

LITERATURE AND PAINTING CONTINUED: LYRIC AND DRAMATIC POETRY

Lyric Poetry. — We return once more to the observations of Jahn as to the influence of poetry on painting, and have to consider whether either in method of representing a story, or in general tone, vases reflect the influence of that lyric poetry of Greece which succeeded the epic. In some cases the lyric poets did not accept the epic version of a tale, but preferred a refinement of their own invention. Could versions of myth, which were due to some innovating poet, find a place in art? From what has already been said as to the relations of literature and art this would seem unlikely. Nor do I think we have any satisfactory examples of it, though some have been suggested by archaeologists. One of the greatest poetical innovators was Stesichorus of Himera, who lived about 600 B.C., and who is said to have introduced new elements and new motives into current and Homeric myth. Among other such innovations, he declared that Helen had never really been at Troy, that the Trojans held but a ghost or simulacrum of her, while the real Helen tarried in Egypt. Thus he tried to save the reputation of the heroine. He also found difficulties in the tale that Artemis had turned the inquisitive Actaeon into a stag, to be pulled down by his own dogs, and feigned rather that the goddess had merely thrown a stag's skin over his shoulders. It is most unlikely that such rationalism as this

would find a way into the representations of Greek art. Professor Robert has maintained that the figure of Actaeon on the well-known metope of Selinus takes the form it does in consequence of the views of Stesichorus;[1] but when on some vases the companions of Odysseus, whom Circe had bewitched, appear as men with the heads of animals, and on others in complete animal form, this variety is not held to denote connection with two different sets of legends. There are many ways in which the metamorphosis of a human being into a plant or an animal is depicted. On the monument of Lysicrates, the pirates who were turned into dolphins appear as half men and half fish. But Daphne, who became a laurel, appears in Pompeian paintings as human, with laurel sprays springing from head and shoulders. And Thetis in her transformations retains the human shape, while the animals into which she transforms herself appear beside her (Fig. 58). Artistic custom thus varying, there is no sufficient proof of the influence on the metope of Selinus of the writings of Stesichorus.

At a previous page (Fig. 35) I have figured an interesting vase-painting representing the descent of Theseus into the sea, to the court of Poseidon, to bring back the ring of Minos. This story does not seem to have been known to the epic. Professor Robert discussed it[2] in 1889, and was then disposed to consider the story of the love of Minos for Periboea and the throwing of the ring into the sea as due to the play of *Theseus* by Euripides, and taken thence by the painter. But a new light has been thrown upon the subject by the discovery of fragments of Bacchylides, in which the tale is given, and it might now appear that it was Bacchylides who was the source. But this can only be a conjecture; it is very likely that this poet only gives form to floating Attic legends. All the Theseus

[1] *Bild und Lied*, p. 26.

[2] In the *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1889, p. 141.

tales gain fresh popularity at Athens somewhat before the middle of the fifth century. At any rate, the mistaken view as to the debt of the vase-painter to Euripides should be a warning, and prevent us from quickly accepting a new hypothesis which may be based, like the previous one, on the mere absence of evidence.

As to the third kind of influence, which shows itself merely in tone and treatment, one cannot speak positively. It is Otto Jahn who laid stress on the lyric tone or background sometimes to be observed in works of Greek art. He speaks of the sculptors of *pathos* — Scopas, Praxiteles, and the like — as offering us something parallel to lyric poetry. But these artists were not contemporary with the great lyric age of Greece, and the parallelism is by no means clear. In any case, we can scarcely carry the view further, to include works of so unambitious a class as vase-paintings.

Tragedy. — We come finally to the dramatic writings of the great Athenian poets of the fifth century. How far did Aeschylus or Euripides influence vase-painting?

Subjects. — It can easily be shown that the choice of subjects by vase-painters is often determined by the existence of well-known tragedies which dealt with particular myths. We have reason to think that the Orestes trilogy of Aeschylus and the tragedies of Euripides were especially popular and often acted in the Hellenistic age. The subject of the fate of Orestes and those dealt with in many of the plays of Euripides are decidedly common on the late vases of Lower Italy, but not on the Athenian vases of the fifth century. Thus it would seem that the Greek drama exercised this kind of influence much more one or two centuries after the great age of the drama than it did at the time. We shall find examples as we go on.

But the influence is more often to be observed in the mere choice of theme than in the way in which the theme is worked out.

Manner of Treatment. — How far the manner of tragedy influenced art is a question which has been a good deal discussed. In my opinion, if the grammar of Greek art had been better understood, much of this discussion would not have arisen. It has in fact often sprung from the predominance in those who have written about ancient art of a literary training, which has induced them to think that the masterpieces of tragedy exercised in Greece at the time of their production an influence far wider and more general than actually existed. On careful consideration I cannot find that much is to be gained by an attempt like that of Jahn to set apart sculptural or painted groups as in general character related to tragedy. He mentions as such the celebrated group of the Tyrannicides, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, copies of which are in the Naples Museum, statues in which, as he says, the sculptor put before himself the task of representing a deed at a pregnant moment in an ethical light. Perhaps we may more safely insist on the dramatic character of such compositions as those of the Parthenon pediments, where the interest rises, so to speak, to a culmination in the midst of the pediment, where Athena is being born or winning her triumph over Poseidon. Here we seem to have the dramatic action of groups, while the other figures in the pediments are present like the spectators, or indeed more like the chorus in a theatre. Yet even in this case it is rather a dramatic tendency in sculpture which makes itself felt than an example of the influence of the great tragic poets of Athens. Why should not sculpture be dramatic as well as literature?

It would seem to us to be almost inevitable, since some of the best vases were produced at Athens during the time when

the drama was most flourishing, that we should be able to trace in their designs the influence of the great dramatic poets. That the vase-painters should transfer to their paintings something of what met their eyes every year at the great Dionysiac festivals would seem the most natural proceeding possible. But the expected does not always happen. It is agreed by most archaeologists who have written on the subject that it is not possible to discover on vases of the fifth century any instance of direct borrowing of situation or event from theatrical representation. This fact can only be explained by the consideration that alike vase-painting and stage acting were under the dominion of a number of traditions which kept the two arts rigidly apart. The tragic actor with his mask, his trailing robes, and high buskins, when off the stage, as the Greeks themselves allowed, cut a ridiculous figure; and, as a matter of fact, he does not make his way into art until near the Roman age. And if the tragedian was obliged to modify time-honoured traditions in order to limit the number of characters on the stage to three, there could be no reason why the vase-painter should slavishly follow his leading in this matter.

It is no doubt exceedingly tempting, when one finds on a vase of the fifth century a scene which we know to have also appeared on the contemporary stage, to bring the two together. Many able writers, including even Brunn, have been unable to resist the temptation; and hence have arisen many conjectures as to the line taken in lost plays of the great dramatists, or as to variant traditions which have influenced poet and painter. But in the arena of archaeological discussion none of these views has held its own, and Professor Robert, after a careful discussion, has rejected them all. In fact, the method is faulty, as will appear from our brief exposition above of the independence of vase-painters of the influence of contemporary poetry.

The only influence which can be traced on contemporary art is an indirect one. I have above spoken of the messenger scheme and the chorus scheme (chapter XII.). As these both become more frequent on vases towards the middle of the fifth century, we may, perhaps, see here a contemporary reflection of the popularity of those schemes on the stage, where they are indeed indispensable.

But in the vases produced in the fourth and third centuries in the south of Italy, and especially at Tarentum, we can sometimes trace the influence exerted by the great Attic drama upon the pictorial rendering of scenes from the lives of heroes. This may be seen especially in two examples. The story of Orestes, scenes from which are not infrequent on Italian vases, takes colour from the great trilogy of Aeschylus, and the dramas of Euripides largely affect the art-representations of the myths treated by him. That the Attic treatment of these subjects became familiar to the Italian vase-painters was no doubt mainly due to the wanderings in Italy, after the time of Alexander the Great, of troops of actors, Dionysiac artists as they were called, who carried from city to city their repertory of plays, consisting largely of the works of Euripides.

Of the appearance on vases of the late Italian class of certain kinds of persons familiar to readers of the Euripidean tragedy — the *deus ex machina*, the ghost, the pedagogue, and the nurse — I will give an example or two.

Two vases, one at Berlin and one at Rome,[1] give us an unfamiliar version of the fate of Antigone. She is brought as a prisoner before Creon by a guard; but Herakles intervenes between her and condemnation. It is possible that in the lost *Antigone* of Euripides, Herakles may at the crisis have appeared *ex machina;* but it may be that some merely traditional version of the story is followed. On one of the vases Herakles is

[1] *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1871, Pl. 40.

standing in a temple or shrine. A shrine in the background is in this class of vases a common feature; but it has nothing to do with the dramatic stage. One suspects therefore that the connection between these vase-paintings and the drama is not close. Of the *Antigone* of Sophocles no influence is to be traced.

On vases which represent the crime of Medea[1] we find sometimes the ghost of Aietes; and the pedagogue in charge of the children is sometimes present, as he is in the Florence sculptural group of the destruction of the children of Niobe. A nurse is often present in late vase-pictures to attend either on ladies of rank or on children. Thus on a vase which represents Telephus in the palace of Agamemnon threatening the life of the young Orestes,[2] a nurse is present. It has been conjectured that this vase-painting may have some relation to the play of Euripides on the theme of Telephus.

But even when we allow the influence upon later vase-paintings of certain Attic tragedies, we must be careful to observe that it is the plot rather than the staging which had an effect. Archaeologists, in commenting on the points of connection between the two, have often been ready to forget the great gulf which lies between ancient and modern stage-production. The costume worn by all the actors on the Greek stage to the very end was specially planned by its great inventor, Aeschylus, to remove them from likeness to ordinary men and women. The mask was invariable, and it was frankly a mask, no close imitation of a face. The long, bright-coloured robes of the personages, and their high buskins, must have made any rapid movement as impossible as was facial play. The plays were recited rather than acted on the stage, and the great qualifications of the actor (actresses of course being

[1] Such as *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1847, Pl. 3.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1857, Pl. 106.

unknown) were a loud and clear voice and a correct pronunciation. It is easy to understand that vase-painters would rather represent scenes even of the Medea or the Hippolytus in their own way than in the way adopted on the stage.

I do not propose here to treat in detail of the vase-paintings of Lower Italy which may be regarded as parallel to the Orestes trilogy of Aeschylus and the dramas of Euripides. All the most important examples are engraved in a work so easily accessible as Baumeister's *Denkmäler* under their respective headings. In Vogel's *Scenen Euripideischer Tragödien in griechischen Vasengemälden* will be found full lists of such vases, and each painting is compared with the play on the same subject. In Mr. Huddilston's *Greek Tragedy in the Light of Vase-paintings* the reader will find much useful information. I will only take as examples of method two vases: one to show how closely in a few rare instances the vase-painter will come to the text of the play, and one to show how strongly in the great majority of cases he preserves his independence.

First, then, I represent a scene from a late and poor vase at St. Petersburg (Fig. 79).[1] We here see Orestes in the temple at Delphi, clinging to the omphalos, with the naked sword in his hand. Before the temple lie the Erinnyes sleeping, represented as hideous women in hunting dress, without wings or snakes. To the right a female figure, identified as the priestess by the great temple-key which she carries, flies in terror at the sight. The closeness of the situation to that which occurs at the beginning of Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, where the priestess

[1] First published by Stephani, *Comptes rendus*, 1863, Pl. VI., 3–5, from the Campana collection. On the other side of the vase are a satyr and a maenad standing by a krater.

comes forth from the stage door, which represents the door of the temple, and tells what she has seen, will occur to every one who has read Aeschylus. But after all the likeness is to the play, not to the acting of it. Orestes and the priestess are not clad in mask and flowing drapery and buskins, as they would be on the stage. And the temple would certainly not

FIG. 79. — Vase at St. Petersburg.

be thus erected on the stage: the front of it would be merely the front of the stage building.[1] The Erinnyes are a reminiscence of the description by the priestess in *Eumenides*, 52–55. She speaks of them first as women, then as Gorgons, and yet not quite like Gorgons, but rather like the Harpies in pictures bearing off the food of Phineus, yet differing from Harpies in not being winged, though black and hideous.

[1] *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XIX., 257–262.

Now before the time of Aeschylus the Erinnyes had not thus been represented, but as staid and venerable deities, clad in long robes, carrying serpents,[1] three in number, as were usually the groups of nymphs and maiden deities at Athens. Aeschylus innovated by increasing their number, and by giving them a foul and hideous aspect, and he succeeded so well in this latter respect that he is said to have produced a panic in the theatre. In both these respects our vase-painter follows the Aeschylean stage tradition rather than the older type, and we may see by this instance that the nearer a vase-painter comes to actual illustration of a poet the less interesting does he become.

In some of the Orestean vase-paintings the Erinnyes are represented as winged. They seem thus to have been brought on the stage by Euripides; but in fact this was a reversion to an older notion; the Gorgons, Harpies, and other unpropitious daemons being generally represented in early art with wings.

Very different is the other vase-painting which I figure[2] (Fig. 80). Here we have a subject which is probably taken from a play of Euripides, the Iphigeneia in Tauris, but in the *treatment* there is nothing to suggest such a derivation. In the background, that is, according to early perspective, at the top of the picture, we see the Tauric Artemis and her temple; beside her sits her brother Apollo. In the foreground is a laurel tree and an altar; Orestes sits on the altar and Pylades stands beside him, while Iphigeneia, holding a knife for the sacrifice, approaches the altar, accompanied by an attendant, who carries on her head the other things necessary for the sacrifice. It is evident that the subject is the preparation for the sacrifice of Orestes and his companion to Artemis, but the sacrifice is but

[1] For example, a dedication at Argos, *Athen. Mittheil.*, IV., 9.

[2] From a Ruvo vase in the Naples Museum. Published in *Mon. d. Inst.*, II., 43.

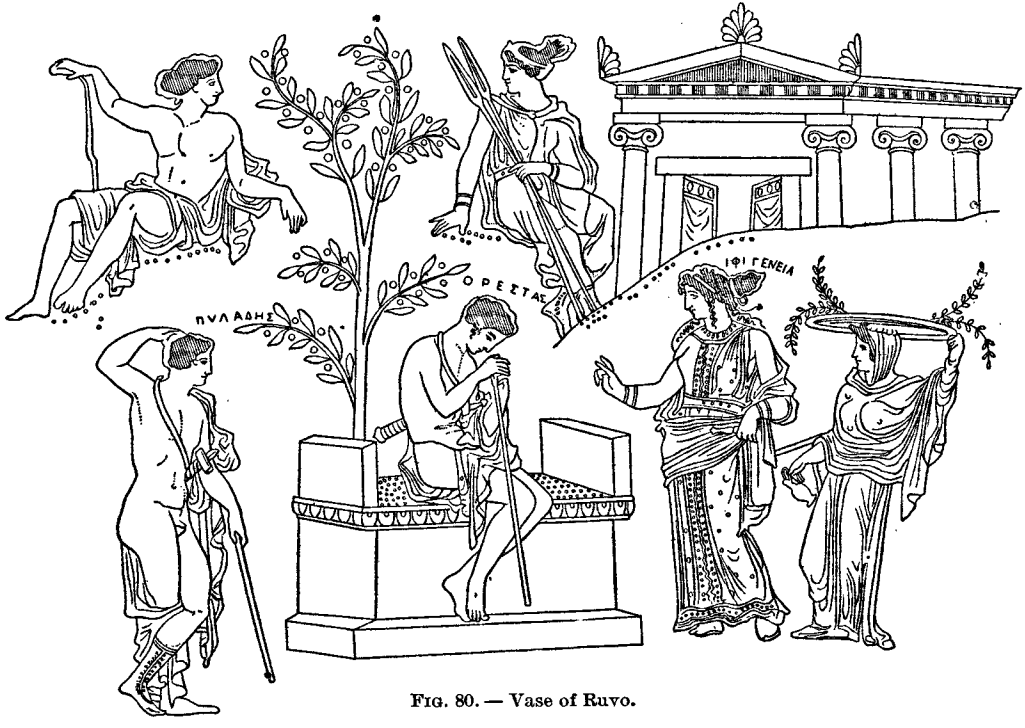


FIG. 80. — Vase of Ruvo.

hinted at. There is no action, still less any flavour of tragic treatment. The gods in the background are a regular feature of this kind of vase.

From first to last, speaking broadly, the vase-painter is true to the principles of his vocation, and follows the lines of his art without wavering.

We may find a reflection, not indeed of the Euripidean stage, but of Euripidean poetry, in some of the wall-paintings of Pompeii. One of the most noted of these[1] represents Orestes and Pylades brought as captives before King Thoas in Tauris, while Iphigeneia stands in the background, at the door of her temple, holding in her hands the image of Artemis. There is something in the simplicity of the grouping and the pathos of the expression which suggests that it may be a copy of, or suggested by, the work of a painter of an earlier age. What it represents is not primarily a scene from the drama of Euripides, but a situation. The capture of the two friends, their condemnation by Thoas, their deliverance by Iphigeneia, even the carrying away of the image to Greece, — all is hinted at in the painting; but there is no suggestion of acting, or of the stage. Perhaps still more closely related to Euripidean ideas and poetry is the figure of Medea holding the sword and meditating the slaying of her children, which we find in more than one example at Pompeii. Sometimes the figure of Medea is detached from its connection and stands as an epitome of a tragic situation.[2] No figure of antiquity has come down to us which is fuller of expression. As a late Greek painter, Timomachus, is known to have painted a noted picture of Medea, it is not out of the way to suppose that he is the originator of the Medea of the Pompeian paintings, though of course the Pompeian artist greatly vulgarizes what he copies.

[1] *Mon. d. Inst.*, VIII., 22.

[2] *Museo Borbonico*, V., 33; VIII., 22; X., 21.

When we pass to a still later class of monuments than the vase-paintings of Calabria and the wall-paintings of Pompeii, namely, to the Roman sarcophagi, we certainly find frequent treatment of the subjects adopted by Aeschylus and Euripides. The great dramatists had given form and currency to certain myths, which thus became interesting to Roman poets and mythographers. And they became familiar also to the second-rate sculptors who made sarcophagi for wealthy Romans. But it was the tale as current in literature, not the play as acted on the stage, which influenced these sculptors. We find no reminiscence of the mask or the flowing tragic robes. What we do find is something much nearer to illustration, in the modern sense of the word; though the crowding of successive events of the drama into a single field of the sarcophagus, involving the method of continuous narration, of which I have spoken above, is a thing foreign to modern art. Several sarcophagi, for example, give us a series of scenes from the story of Orestes. In the case of one[1] we find on the side a representation of the slaying of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, with the Eumenides in the background, while on one end we have the acquittal of Orestes by Athena, on the other Orestes and Pylades in Tauris. Here, at all events, the fashion of the Eumenides and the presence of Athena are due to the influence of Aeschylus. But they have clearly by this time become part of the myth, and there is no direct relation to the drama.

I do not propose to carry the history of the relations between poem and painting down to the poems of the Hellenistic or the Roman age. There is undoubtedly a parallelism, for it must rather be so termed than spoken of as a connection, between the poems of the Alexandrian writers, Theocritus, Apollonius

[1] Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, Pl. LV. Cf. Pl. LIV.

Rhodius, Callimachus, and their contemporaries, together with the Roman writers of the Augustan age, who owe so much to them, and the abundant wall-paintings of Pompeii and Rome. Both alike are dominated by the influence of Alexandria and the other great urban centres of the Hellenistic world. Both alike reflect the character of that world, in playful treatment of the myths of gods and heroes, in a more sentimental regard for women, in a growing appreciation and love of natural scenery, and in many other respects. It is impossible, without good representations of several of the paintings, to go into further detail as to the manner in which they embody the ideas of the Hellenistic age. The best book on the subject remains, after many years, Dr. Helbig's *Campanische Wandmalerei;* an English book on the subject is greatly needed.

CHAPTER XV

THE LIFE-HISTORY OF A MYTH — THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS

FULLY to illustrate the relations between poem and picture we ought to choose some subject which is a common theme of both, and trace it from period to period in each. Unfortunately no thoroughly satisfactory subject can be found. The favourite themes of art are taken from the cyclic poets, not from the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, and not from the fortunes of the houses of Oedipus and Atreus, which furnish a subject to so many tragedies. Under these circumstances the best thing to do is to select a subject which is well illustrated in all periods of art, even if it be but slightly treated in literature, or if the Greek poems of which it was the theme have been lost.

I propose to take one of the most favourite subjects with vase-painters of all periods, the judgment of Paris. The thing which will most clearly appear in our investigation is the futility of taking vase-pictures one by one and trying to explain their features by direct reference to myth or to poem. This is a parallel error to that of which I spoke when discussing sculpture, — the direct comparison of a statue with nature in disregard of the influence of style and school. We shall also find that the whole series of representations of the myth selected is an orderly development, following psychological law, and reflecting in a minute mirror the course of Greek literary and artistic growth and decline.

The main points in the literary history of the tale may be speedily sketched. In the *Iliad* (XXIV., 25) we find mention made of the anger cherished against Paris by Hera and Athena, "in that he condemned those goddesses, when they came to his steading, and preferred her who brought to him deadly lustfulness." Some authorities consider these words as an interpolation, the source of which may be found in the *Cypria*, where was related, according to the summary of Proclus, how "A dispute arose at the wedding of Peleus on the subject of beauty between Athena, Hera, and Aphrodite, who are led by Hermes, at Zeus' command, to Paris in Ida, who is to decide it. Paris prefers Aphrodite, on her promising him Helen as a bride."

We have here nothing about the offering of gifts by the other goddesses, nor do we hear of the apple of Eris; these features come later into literature, as we shall see.

In four plays of Euripides mention is made of the judgment of Paris. In the *Iphigeneia in Aulis* (l. 1289) the Chorus speaks of the coming of the three goddesses, under the leading of Hermes, to Paris in Mount Ida, and each of the three is spoken of as relying not on a bribe, but on her exalted function — Hera on her queenly position, Pallas on her warlike power, Aphrodite on her mastery of love. In the *Helena*, Helen (l. 18) speaks of the goddesses as vying in beauty. But in the *Troades* (l. 920) Euripides adopts an innovating version of the myth, representing each goddess as trying to win the judge with gifts. Pallas promises that at the head of his Phrygians he shall conquer Greece; Hera that he shall have a wide kingdom in Asia and Europe; while Aphrodite promises the person of Helen. In a fourth play, the *Andromache* (l. 275), the Chorus dwells on the preparation of the goddesses for the judgment by washings in the springs of Ida.

There was a satyric play of Sophocles called *The Judgment*, in which Paris is introduced as deciding between Aphrodite

and Athena, Hera being absent, perhaps because only three actors could be on the stage at once. The play seems to have had a moral similar to that of the well-known tale of Prodicus of the choice of Herakles between Pleasure and Virtue.

In the Hellenistic age, as reflected to us in the Roman poets,[1] the contest between the goddesses is represented as strictly one in beauty, and they come undraped before their judge. The apple is mentioned by Lucian and Apuleius, but of course we cannot tell when it first really came into the tale.

This being in brief the literary history of the tale, let us turn to the evidence of the vases for a parallel development.[2]

In the early black-figured vases we find a merely processional scheme. Hermes walks first; the three goddesses, not distinguished one from the other, follow him. Paris is not always to be seen; when he is present he usually shows his unwillingness to act as judge by flight, while Hermes pursues, or grapples with him to hold him fast. We can scarcely fail to see here the influence of fixed schemes. When there is no Paris, no judgment, and no discrimination of the goddesses, it can scarcely be pretended that there is a serious attempt to tell the story. The scheme of Hermes leading three nymphs, who in early art are usually represented as draped, was probably familiar to the vase-painter, and guided his hand. In the grappling of Hermes and Paris we have also an ordinary wrestling scheme.

In later black-figured vases the simple scheme begins to change. The midmost of the three female figures begins to be differentiated, and naturally becomes Athena, since Athena is

[1] Propertius, II., 2, 14; Ovid, *Heroides*, 17, 115.

[2] The subject is treated of by Miss Jane Harrison in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, VII., 196.

far easier to discriminate, being armed, than her colleagues. In the painting here figured, from a vase at Florence (Fig. 81),[1] the dress of the middle figure is varied. Also the dog of Paris, which is his attribute as shepherd, comes in, and appears in

FIG. 81. — Vase at Florence.

curious connections, sometimes leading the procession.[2] The dog marks the scene as pastoral, as the presence of Hermes indicates the divine purpose.

With the coming of the severe red-figured technique, we have of course an immense improvement in the drawing of the scene, and a number of fresh details and attributes are introduced. In a vase from the workshop of Hiero Paris is playing the lyre, while his goats sport about him; and Aphrodite is convoyed by four fluttering companions, various forms of Eros. In a vase of Brygus Paris is singing to the lyre, with head thrown back, as the goddesses draw near. Towards the middle of the fifth century the cortège of the goddesses becomes more

[1] *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Pl. LXX. The two figures on the left are merely fillers of space.

[2] In a vase of the Louvre (*Cat.*, I., Pl. 17, A. 478) a huge dog and a winged female figure (Iris) are interposed between Hermes and Paris. I am surprised that Miss Harrison (*Proleg. to Greek Religion*, p. 226), adopts the view which refers the picture to the myth of the stealing of the golden dog of Minos.

and more elaborate. On the cover of a pyxis at Copenhagen[1] Hera travels in a chariot drawn by four horses, Athena in one drawn by two serpents, while to the chariot of Aphrodite two winged figures of Eros are harnessed. Perhaps more significant is a kylix in Berlin (Fig. 82),[2] on which one sees Paris holding a sceptre and a lyre, seated in a stately palace, supported by Ionic columns: he is clearly here not the shepherd but the king's son. Of the goddesses, Hera holds a small lion, Athena a helmet, Aphrodite a wreath and a small

FIG. 82. — Vase at Berlin.

figure of Eros. Among all the vases of the fifth century which represent the subject, this alone perhaps introduces fresh meaning. In the others the picture grows in beauty, fresh details are added, but the plan remains the same. But on the Berlin vase the goddesses are clearly contending with gifts: Hera offers sovereignty, Athena military fame, Aphrodite love, just as in the *Troades* of Euripides. It would be contrary to all analogy and all probability to suppose that the vase-painter has followed the text of Euripides, even apart from the fact

[1] Dumont et Chaplain, *Vases Peints*, Pl. X.
[2] Roscher, *Lexikon*, III., p. 1615. *Berlin Cat.*, 2536.

that the *Troades* appeared on the stage many years after the painting of the vase. We have therefore a parallelism between tragedian and painter, both of whom doubtless depend upon some earlier source.

Towards the end of the fifth century a process of dissolution sets in in the vase-paintings. The order of the goddesses is broken up, fresh figures interrupt the scheme, but meaning is rather lost than gained. On a vase in the Sabouroff Collection,[1] Athena stands behind Paris, and Victory makes her appearance, advancing, as it seems, rather towards Hera than towards Aphrodite. In another vase-painting of the period,[2] which is unfortunately fragmentary, a full-sized Eros stands between Athena and his mother.

In the large and elaborate vases of late fine style which reach us from Italy, but some of which seem to be Athenian, we have further modifications and developments. As a result of the working of the Polygnotan notion of perspective, the figures of the picture are no longer in one plane. Paris, who is seated, and Hermes form the centre, and the goddesses with their dependants and ministrants are grouped around them, and to these are often added other figures whose appositeness does not appear. On one vase[3] we have Eros, Himeros, and Pothos, and an unexplained youth riding on a dolphin. On another[4] we have Eris looking down from a hill in the background; but there are also present Zeus, Clymene, Eutychia, and Helios driving his chariot. Paris gives up his Hellenic appearance and wears the Phrygian dress with long sleeves and trousers. In these cases we have a series of artistic variations on the original theme, but no addition to the meaning.

In a few vases of this class, however, we have elements which tell of thought or of learning. In one scene, we see Eris

[1] Pl. 61.
[2] *Ann. d. Inst.*, 1833, Tav. E.
[3] Gerhard, *Apulische Vasenbilder*, Pl. C.
[4] *Ibid.*, Pl. D.

and Themis, distinguished by inscriptions, conversing together in the background.[1] Eris, of course, comes in naturally, but Themis makes one pause. And although names are added almost at random on vases of this age, it seems likely that the painter was thinking of the beginning of the epic *Cypria*, where Zeus and Themis discuss the excessive multiplication of men on the earth, and set moving the course of events which leads through the judgment of Paris to the Trojan war. Another vase which calls for special mention represents, not the judgment, but the immediate preparations for the contest in beauty (Fig. 83).[2] Hera holds a mirror, and by its evidence adjusts her veil, Athena has laid aside helmet and shield, and is washing her hands at a fountain, while Aphrodite, with Eros for a helper, is decking herself with jewels. As we saw in the Berlin kylix a parallel to the play of Euripides, so in this vase we may discern, if we will, an artistic counterpiece to the "morality" of Sophocles, the characters of the three deities being charmingly discriminated.

Another curious innovation in some vases of the Italian potteries[3] is the transfer of the office of arbiter between the deities from Paris to Apollo, who is represented as seated by his Delphic Omphalos while Zeus addresses him. This curious change in the referee has naturally puzzled archaeologists, and some have conjectured the existence of an alternative story, according to which the oracle of Apollo, the highest court of appeal in Greece, was the judge appointed to award the prize of beauty. It seems, however, very unlikely that any such story could be of really early date. In Plato's *Republic*[4] there is a phrase which seems to have a bearing on the question. Socrates there says that among other Homeric stories which should be rejected is that concerning the strife of the goddesses

[1] *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, A. XI.
[2] *Mon. d. Inst.*, IV., 18.
[3] *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, A. X; E. XI.
[4] P. 379 E.

FIG. 83. — Vase of the Basilicata.

and the decision which came through Zeus and Themis. Now Themis at Delphi inherited the oracle of the Earth (Gê), and was in turn succeeded by Apollo; so possibly the phrase in Plato may have reference to some Delphic decision. But it seems more probable that Plato is referring only to the share which Themis had from the beginning in the whole series of events, and that the vase-painter, with that little knowledge which is always dangerous, merely inserted Apollo in the scene as the general judge of difficult questions.

In Pompeian paintings the judgment of Paris is a not rare subject. In these the scene is again simpler, usually confined to the main actors. Aphrodite is sometimes naked, or all but naked, but the other goddesses retain their robes and their dignity. The poets take greater liberties with them than the painters. In a painting of the baths of Titus, however, we have a triad of undraped deities standing before Paris.

Taking the vases which represent the judgment, not as a series, but one by one, some eminent archaeologists have fallen into the mistake of too closely connecting them with myth and literature. Thus Stephani of St. Petersburg comments on a black-figured vase on which, besides Paris and Hermes, only Athena and one other goddess are present.[1] This vase shows the usual processional scheme, and the abridgment of the design for economy of space or time is a familiar phenomenon in vases. But Stephani wants to see the influence of the above-mentioned drama of Sophocles, wherein Paris has to decide between Athena and Aphrodite. The vase dates from nearly a century earlier than the play of Sophocles; but apart from this conclusive objection, the faultiness of Stephani's method is obvious.

[1] Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, Pl. 172.

Welcker again wanted to infer from the prominence in vase-paintings of the processional scheme that the journey of the goddesses to Mount Ida was an important feature in the *Cypria*. Here again we have a complete misconception. According to the earlier vase-painters, the procession of deities is not a preliminary to the judgment, but is a manner of representing the judgment itself; they know no other. The scheme of the judgment is gradually developed out of the processional scheme, and there are almost identical designs in which Paris is standing or seated, present or absent.

Nothing could show more clearly than does this brief history how poetry and art in Greece take quite independent lines. They follow parallel courses, but there can seldom be traced any line of influence running from one to the other, apart from the influence exercised by the Homeric and cyclic poems. The most notable exception to the rule is to be found in the influence of the Euripidean dramas on the vase-painting of South Italy in the Hellenistic age. And even here, as we have seen, the influence seldom reaches beyond suggesting a subject or giving hints as to its treatment. Illustration, in the modern sense of the word, was, as I observed at the outset, unknown in Greece.

CHAPTER XVI

COINS IN RELATION TO HISTORY

So far as we have gone at present Greek art would seem to have very much to do with ideas, and but little with facts of history. Its message to us would seem to be concerned rather with the *vivification* than with the *verification* of the facts of Greek life. It rather displays to us the background against which the Greek race acted out its drama, than the plot of the drama itself. To correct what may perhaps be the excess of this impression, we will devote our final chapter to a brief consideration of the place taken in archaeology by coins.

The study of coins, numismatics, has sometimes been termed the Grammar of Greek Art. By this it is meant that of all classes of Greek remains coins are the most trustworthy, give us the most precise information, introduce us to the greatest variety of facts. As regards epigraphy, art, religion, commerce, they are monuments of the first importance. Their date and locality can be determined with greater precision than those of any other classes of remains, except the remains of buildings found *in situ*. Thus coins furnish, if not exactly a grammar, at least a valuable epitome or index of Greek art. Work upon them is perhaps the best possible introduction to archaeology. The student who takes this road avoids areas of controversy; he trains his eyes by the contemplation of works of unquestioned genuineness and beauty; he learns to think by periods and by districts. It is only practical difficulties, arising from

the small size of coins and the great value of fine specimens, which prevent the study of numismatics from lying at the root of archaeological training.

Detailed numismatic studies can only be carried on when there is free access to one of the large collections of Greek coins, such as exist in the great national museums of Europe. It is this inaccessibility of the material for study which long delayed the development of numismatics as a branch of archaeology, and still causes this field to be less highly cultivated than others. For example, much more light than has hitherto been discovered in the study of coins might be brought to bear upon the detailed history of ancient commerce. The monetary standards on which the coins of cities were at any period issued are at once an indication of the commercial sphere to which those cities belonged. For example, about 409 B.C. the cities of the island of Rhodes combined to found the city of Rhodes, which almost immediately began greatly to flourish, and to extend its commerce along the shores of Asia. The coins of the new city were almost from the first issued on a new and distinctive standard; and when we find that standard, in the early part of the fourth century, spreading not only to cities of the southern coast of Asia Minor, but farther, as far as the Thracian coast, we may well find in it a witness to the rapid spread of Rhodian commerce in the great gap left by the fall of Athens.

The precision of the information given us by coins, and their complete freedom from modern restoration, admirably fit them to become the basis of various lines of archaeological study. It will be found that through the coins of each district of the Greek world there runs something of common character. The coins of the Greek cities of southern Italy are not to be confused with those of the Doric and Chalcidian cities of Sicily; but Italian and Sicilian coins stand together as a species in

comparison with the coins of northern Greece, which again present a marked contrast to the money of the cities of the Asiatic coast. It is true that when a great school of sculpture or painting arises in a city, it usually reaches beyond a mere local character to one which is national or cosmopolitan; but, nevertheless, local traditions and conditions tell upon it. Thus a general geographical arrangement of character in art, based upon the testimony of coins, is a good preliminary study to work upon sculpture. When Professor Brunn produced his noted theory of a North Greek School of Art, the most trustworthy section of his evidence was the numismatic. And in a letter to the writer of this book he stated his opinion that the question of the date and extent of the archaizing tendency in later Greek art would be finally settled only by an appeal to coins.

In the special study of ancient portraiture, a branch of archaeology which has long been neglected, but is now rapidly returning into favour, the most trustworthy evidence is that of coins. Coins give us portraits of nearly all the kings and rulers of Asia, Greece, and Rome, from the time of Alexander the Great onwards. And in the Roman age it was no uncommon thing to place on coins the figure or the head of any citizen who had in past time brought renown to his city.

The consideration of coins in relation to commerce, to religion, to epigraphy, does not enter into the scope of this work. Coins regarded as works of art follow in their designs those laws of balance and symmetry, of relief and perspective, of which I have spoken in previous chapters. Thus considered, they are works in medium relief, of small size and circular form. Their designs, when consisting not of a head but of figures, are much like those of the metopes of temples, but even simpler. But the fact to which I propose now to call attention is that every important city in Greece, and many

towns which were unimportant, issued during most of their autonomous existence series of coins, bearing the arms of the state as type, series which run strictly parallel to the political history of the state, reflecting its changes, rising with its rise, and disappearing at its fall. Thus we have a numismatic record of Greek history, sometimes far more complete in detail than the history recorded by writers, and possessing the great advantage of consisting wholly of objects, visible to the eye, to be weighed by the hand, and ready on close investigation to furnish facts, the validity of which can scarcely be denied.

In the Introduction to a work on Greek coins,[1] I have tried to set forth the method whereby it is possible to range the coins of cities in series running parallel to the fortunes of those cities. Two processes have to be gone through. First, it is necessary to arrange the whole of the series in order of date, by the aid of our knowledge of the forms of letters used in the inscriptions, our perception of style in art, our knowledge of weights and of fabric, not neglecting such more detailed evidence as may be furnished by the discovery of hoards, observation of restriking of one type over another, and the like. In the second place, we turn to the recorded history of our city, and endeavour to find lines of evidence, the more exact and objective the better, connecting particular issues of coins with particular historic events, a military success, an alliance, the accession of a ruler, the introduction of a fresh cultus of some deity, and so forth. Before this can be done, the ancient historians must of course be read with keen and critical eyes. The historian only gives us an opinion, which may be true or false, but in either case is certain to be largely moulded by

[1] *The Types of Greek Coins*, Cambridge, 1883, p. 56.

his own subjective views, his sense of style, his political prepossessions, his chances of obtaining good information.

It will be clear that this process is a cumulative one. The beginner will be apt to find in coins all kinds of historic coincidences and allusions which do not exist. But every time an arrangement is made on really good evidence, it will shed light on the successive issues of coins of all cities in the same district or the same political circle; and thus by degrees the coinage of city after city will fall into order and sequence.

One may fairly say that the chronological classification of Greek coins, if we except certain districts, has now been carried out to a generally recognized conclusion. A summary of the results will be found in Dr. Head's *Historia Numorum*.[1] But as recently as 1870 the process had scarcely been begun, and the same writer's *Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Syracuse*, which appeared in 1874, was the first consecutive and satisfactory attempt at coördinating the history of a Greek city with its coins. To the English-speaking student several monographs of this kind are accessible in his own language,[2] numismatics being the only branch of classical archæology which can be studied beyond the rudiments without the use of books other than English.

I will cite a few examples of coins, the date of which can be fixed, and which thus serve as landmarks in the coinage of the cities to which they belong.

When Gelon of Syracuse won in 479 his great victory over the Carthaginians at Himera, the defeated city was able to obtain tolerable terms of peace through the intercession of

[1] Oxford, 1887. A new edition is in preparation.

[2] I may name the following, which originally appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle*: B. V. Head, *Coins of Boeotia, Coins of Ephesus;* P. Gardner, *Sicilian Studies, Coins of Elis, Coins of Samos;* A. J. Evans, *Syracusan Medallions, Horsemen of Tarentum.* Mr. G. F. Hill's *Coins of Ancient Sicily* is a good conspectus.

Damarete, wife of Gelon, and in gratitude presented to her a hundred talents of gold; such at least is the story of Diodorus Siculus.[1] From the proceeds were issued silver coins of the weight of ten Attic drachms, that is, as we know, about six hundred and seventy-five grains. Now we have surviving a few coins of Syracuse of archaic style and of this very unusual size and weight; and there can be scarcely any doubt that they are the very pieces mentioned by Diodorus and Julius Pollux as Damareteia (Fig. 84). We can assign them unhesitatingly to

FIG. 84. — Damareteion.

479–8 B.C. Every archaeologist will appreciate the advantage of being able to assert that all coins of Syracuse of more archaic style than the Damareteion were struck before 479 B.C. and pieces of later style after that date. And since coins of closely similar style, though not of the same weight, make their appearance at Leontini, the coinage of that city also can be divided into two groups by a line of rigid date.

To take another example. When Dion, the disciple of Plato, was planning his fateful expedition against Dionysius of Syracuse in 357 B.C., he made his headquarters in the island of Zacynthus, there collected troops, and thence sailed against Syracuse. We have coins struck at Zacynthus, as inscription

[1] XI., 26.

and types abundantly prove (Fig. 85), and belonging to about the middle of the fourth century B.C., which are stamped also with the name of Dion. We may fairly suppose that he struck them for the payment of his mercenaries, many of whom were Zacynthians. Here again we have a valuable fixed date in the coinage of a city. And the types used by Dion, the head of Apollo and the Delphic tripod, correspond to the assertion of Plutarch, that before Dion left the island he made splendid sacrifices to Apollo, the patron god of Zacynthus, thus placing himself under his special protection.

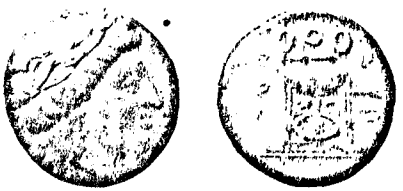


FIG. 85. — Dion coin.

Sometimes an event which is barely mentioned by ancient historians is written large in the coinage. An often cited, but very characteristic, example is to be found in the alliance formed by certain of the cities of Asia against Sparta just after the victory of Conon at Cnidus. Xenophon and Diodorus[1] tell us that after the battle of Cnidus many of the cities of Asia expelled their Spartan governors and declared themselves independent. But Xenophon and Diodorus give us scanty details. Waddington first pointed out that we can prove from coins that certain cities, including Ephesus, Rhodes, Cnidus, and Samos, entered into a definite anti-Laconian compact. All these cities issued coins of uniform weight, a weight not in use before in those parts, which bore on one side the usual device of the issuing city, on the other a figure of the child Herakles strangling the serpents, and the inscription ΣΥΝ which doubtless stands for *συμμαχικὸν νόμισμα*, alliance coin (Figs. 86, 87). The uniformity of these coins proves that they were the result of

[1] Xenophon, *Hist.*, IV., 8, 1; Diodorus, XIV., 83.

a convention, their weight that a commercial understanding was involved. The type, which is taken from the coins of Thebes, has clearly a political purpose, showing that the cities ranged themselves on the side of the greatest enemy of the Spartan domination, Thebes. The type without the inscription is copied

86. 87.

FIGS. 86, 87. — Coins of Samos and Ephesus.

by other cities which do not seem to have belonged to the alliance, but only desired to express the same anti-Spartan tendency, such cities as Lampsacus, and even the distant Zacynthus.

Any one can see how such facts as these add colour and warmth to the dry narratives of Xenophon and Diodorus. It is true that at present it would not be easy to put together many instances so clear and so striking. But much will be done by closer study. Mr. Evans, in his *Horsemen of Tarentum*, has succeeded in some cases with greater, in some with lesser, probability in emphasizing by the evidence of coins all the chief events of the history of Tarentum. Equally minute and exact work on other series of coins would yield a like harvest. Every gold and silver coin issued by Greek cities was struck on a particular standard. The question why the standard was chosen may sometimes be easily answered, but very often the reasons are by no means obvious, and a search into them will

bring to light fresh and unexpected relations of a political or commercial kind between various Greek states. So the reason for which the patronage of a coinage was assigned to one deity rather than another is often far to seek; it is by no means always the most prominent among the cults of a city which receives most recognition on its coins.

Nevertheless, as in other branches of Greek art, so in this, it is easy to misread the testimony of the monuments. A few observations on this subject may be useful.

We must never lose sight of the psychological side of ancient numismatics, nor overlook the purpose for which coins were struck and issued. This purpose was, at least in the autonomous age of Greece, primarily commercial; coins were struck as a measure of value and a medium of exchange. This main intention was crossed by many others, acting in some cases consciously and in some unconsciously. The desire to procure and to recognize the help of the gods in all city affairs, the refusal to tolerate what was ugly or unmeaning, the love of artistic variety, a desire to indicate who was responsible for the weight and quality of the money, these and other motives conditioned the production of coins; but the main questions were as to their reception in the markets of home and of other cities, whether they would be accepted by correspondents or mercenaries or tax gatherers. Only thus can we account for such facts as that Athens through all her history issued coins bearing an archaic or unsatisfactory head of her guardian goddess, and that Sicyon adhered always to the ugly and trivial type of the chimaera. But the failure of the most artistic cities to produce a beautiful coinage is made up for by the success in this matter of Tarentum and Syracuse, Cyzicus and Lampsacus, and many other places, some of which, like Terina and Caulonia, are scarcely mentioned by historians.

Archaeologists have in the past often been misled in dealing

with numismatic testimony through underestimating the spontaneous vitality of Greek art. They have often been unable to imagine that when great sculptors in a city were setting up some world-famed statue, the die-cutter could fail, in treating the same theme, to be influenced by their work. It is very natural to expect to find, on the coins of Elis of the middle of the fifth century, a reflex of the statue of the Olympian Zeus by Pheidias, and on the coins of Rhegium of the same date to look for traces of the style of the sculptor Pythagoras. But the expectation is not usually justified. Greek art was a thing so sensitive to circumstance, so calculated in regard to conditions of space and purpose, that an artist who made the die of a coin would think primarily of the coin, and of the subject as adapted to the shape and purpose of the coin. Besides this, the men who worked upon coins and gems probably belonged to families with whom such work was hereditary, and not to the same social class as the great sculptors. Thus as a rule the sculptor, the vase-painter, and the die-engraver pursue each his own course independently. In the learned Hellenistic age, which was beginning to dwell on the past, and which cherished temples and their contents as moderns cherish cathedrals of the Middle Ages, there is more copying of great statues. For example, the coins of Messene reproduce the statue of Zeus by Ageladas, and the coins of Epidaurus, the gold and ivory statue of Asklepios by Thrasymedes of Paros. But even in such cases as these, what we have is rather a translation than a copy; attitude is preserved rather than style or character.

In Roman times, and especially in the learned and art-loving age of the Antonines, we find upon the coins of Greek cities a large number of intentional and tolerably faithful copies of the monuments of the great age, temples, statues, and the like,[1]

[1] See Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, Quaritch, 1887, and Mr. Frazer's *Pausanias*, passim.

which copies, small as they are, and governed by certain conventions which require to be carefully considered, often serve to identify existing works of art, or give us useful information as to details of such as are lost. Some archaeologists, especially in recent years, have been disposed to undervalue this source of knowledge, the reason being that they are not well enough acquainted with the grammar of Greek coin-types, and fall into the error, of which I have more than once spoken, of comparing the copy directly with the original without abstracting the modifications which the copyist would as a matter of style be certain to make.

It is a noteworthy fact that here, at the very end of the history of Greek art, we come again to the same phenomena which impressed us in dealing with its origin. Here again it is not a transcript which the artist makes of the building or the statue which he would copy, but a translation based on an impression in the memory. As to fact, he is careless; he will reduce the number of pillars in a temple, or if he has a reason, alter its form; he will open it out in front to show the statue within; he will give us what he thinks important, and not what he thinks unimportant. In the same way he will modify the pose of a statue freely, or raise the hand to display the attribute; he will not be exact, but he will freely represent what seem to him the leading features of the work. With this curious point of contact between archaic and Roman Greece we may fittingly conclude.

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